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United States & Canada

Washington 'Considers Options' After Coup

PM2708114891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[By A. Shalnev: "Washington Considers Its Options"]

[Text] New York—"The coup attempt has failed. What now?"—Those are the questions being asked by Americans, whose traditional pragmatism has very rapidly replaced the euphoria clearly felt in the first few hours after the failure of the putsch.

As far as can be ascertained from statements by administration staffers and expert opinions, the question—"What now?"—means first and foremost the pace of future economic and political reform in the Soviet Union and, second, President Gorbachev's readiness to do what he had failed to do before for various reasons: finally break with those who, as Americans see it, had slowed down reform.

Washington is making no secret of the fact that the democratic forces' victory—however important it may be—does not yet constitute grounds for arranging large-scale economic and financial cooperation with us or for giving us the aid whose necessity is recognized by more and more U.S. experts. The principle—"First you must implement basic reforms and then we can help you"—voiced at the G-7 meeting in London and repeated at the Bush-Gorbachev Moscow summit remains in force. Larry Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state, stated quite clearly Thursday: "No reform, no money."

Another ranking administration representative who wished to remain anonymous indicated that the administration's readiness to come to Moscow's assistance would also depend on how Gorbachev transforms the Cabinet of Ministers. The representative expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that General Moiseyev had been temporarily appointed defense minister. Admittedly, the same day President Bush several times reaffirmed quite categorically that the Washington White House had no intention to impose its wishes on Moscow regarding the composition of the new government.

But the direct and indirect hints and warnings to Gorbachev are, it seems to me, being made more for form's sake. There is no doubt (Washington has already drawn this conclusion) that now, following the collapse of the coup, the tone will be set by Yeltsin. And Yeltsin, as ABC-TV put it, "will not stand for Gorbachev dragging his feet on reform any more."

As I see it, this is the factor underlying Washington's decision to give us aid—but, of course, not to the extent that we had been hoping for. The aid will mainly take the form of food, with a view to preventing famine—which people in America are already talking about as almost an inevitability.

This kind of aid will also be useful for America—or, rather, for its farmers. The decision to help the USSR, if made by the White House on a humanitarian basis, would be a boon to them. According to calculations made by Padma Desai, a Columbia University economist, the Soviet Union will have to import no less than 35 million tonnes of grain in the next 10 months.

'No Nuclear Threat' Perceived During Coup

PM2708133091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By A. Blinov: "R. Cheney: There Was No Nuclear Threat to the United States During the Putsch in the USSR"]

[Text] Washington—Was the United States exposed to a nuclear threat at the time of the ill-starred attempt at a coup d'etat in the Soviet Union? In recent days U.S. journalists have repeatedly put this question to administration spokesmen.

A WASHINGTON POST correspondent and, after him, a number of other U.S. journalists have reported that the participants in the putsch removed from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev the "nuclear attache case"—the means of command and control over the country's strategic arsenal. In other words, the Soviet head of state, who was held virtually under house arrest in the Crimea, had no possibility at that time of controlling the "nuclear button."

When this question was put to U.S. President G. Bush at Kennebunkport at the end of last week, he made it clear that there was no nuclear threat to the United States, even if the "nuclear attache case" had been in the putschists' hands for a while. "I have heard about this, but I know nothing," G. Bush said. "No one noticed any actions that would give grounds for concern—troop movements or other steps associated with signs of a nuclear threat of any nature."

Last Sunday an NBC-TV commentator tried to secure elucidation in an interview with U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney. The Pentagon head confirmed that the United States was not exposed to a military threat, including a nuclear one, at the time of the attempted coup d'etat in the USSR.

According to R. Cheney, questions of control over strategic weapons are rather too "delicate" a topic to be discussed in public. However, this does not mean that the United States is ignorant as to how strategic nuclear means are controlled in the USSR. This question was discussed in detail during the arms control talks, and the U.S. side is confident enough that the Soviet Union keeps its arsenal under reliable control.

The mutual blocking of corresponding launchers is one of the factors ensuring reliable control over nuclear means. As R. Cheney pointed out, in the Soviet Union the "gear" controlling strategic means is held by the

country's president, the minister of defense, and the chief of the General Staff. None of them may issue the order independently. In addition, the strategic forces have their own commander, who, as R. Cheney pointed out, did not support the putsch.

None of the official U.S. spokesmen have been able to confirm the report that the means of controlling strategic weapons really were removed from the Soviet president. The name—"nuclear attache case"—was given by analogy with the special attache case carried by the officer who invariably accompanies the U.S. President.

In any case, U.S. officials have firmly confirmed that no specific actions were taken on the Soviet side that could have been regarded as an indication of a military threat to the United States. Accordingly, they affirm, no actions were taken to enhance the combat readiness of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Covering this topic in detail, THE WASHINGTON POST points out that the Pentagon really did not issue any official instructions enhancing the troops' degree of combat readiness. Nevertheless, U.S. commanders took a whole series of "quiet steps" to strengthen the degree of troop control, but in such a form that they did not attract any attention.

In particular, the command of the Marine Corps sent information on the events occurring in the USSR to the commanders of its units in the Persian Gulf zone and in the Mediterranean. At the same time the activities of satellite means of reconnaissance and observation of "regional powers pursuing interests hostile to the United States" were stepped up.

Bush, Mulroney Cited on Aid for USSR

LD2608222791 Moscow TASS in English 2214 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By Alexey Berezhkov and Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington Aug 27 [as received] TASS—"Events are moving rapidly" in the Soviet Union, President George Bush of the United States said on Monday. "They are going in the direction of freedom and democracy. And I remain optimistic that they can—these enormous changes can be handled without disorder, without the anarchy that we hear some of the television talking about".

President Bush was speaking at a news conference he and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney held at Kennebunkport together to discuss the results of two-day U.S.-Canadian consultations.

"We talked about a number of issues, in particular the status of the Baltics," Bush said, "and we also talked about economic aid".

Noting that "we are moving very, very close to recognition", Bush said then "there are some questions about what do you recognise. There are some border questions that are important" and added he was anxious about the outcome of the meetings of the Supreme Soviet.

"On the economic side, we had a far-reaching discussion, and we agreed that this is an issue that the industrial democracies need to review carefully," Bush said. "For the U.S. side, I can tell you I have seen nothing to change my mind about the agreement we collectively took in London in the G-7. There is a determination to help the Soviet Union, but a recognition that reform had to take place. And there's a little bit of uncertainty now and they themselves need to sort that out so that when you have a contract you know who it is with, when you have a deal you know that it's going to be fulfilled".

Bush announced the availability of the 315 million dollars of the agricultural credits to the Soviet Union. This is the second tranche of the credits the United States decided to grant the Soviet Union this year.

Prime Minister Mulroney said that his country moved to begin the process of establishing full diplomatic relations with the Baltic states and all of the agreements that would necessarily follow that decision. On the economic side and taking into account the forthcoming difficult autumn or winter in the Soviet Union, President Bush and the Canadian prime minister agreed to support very actively initiatives for food aid to ensure that basic needs are met in the Soviet Union throughout what is clearly a difficult and challenging period.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Receives Letter From Kaifu

OW2808043791 Tokyo KYODO in English 0352 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 27 KYODO—The chances for Japan and the Soviet Union to fully normalize their relationship are now good, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu told Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in a letter handed to a Gorbachev adviser in the Kremlin on Tuesday.

In the letter, delivered by Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito, Kaifu told Gorbachev the two leaders should strive to normalize their countries' relations.

A spokesman for the Japanese embassy in Moscow said the Soviet presidential adviser asked Saito to convey Gorbachev's thanks to Kaifu for his support for the president and democracy in the Soviet Union.

The aide also told Saito that the president's wife, Raisa, is suffering from anxiety but is otherwise well.

Japan has so far refused to fully normalize relations with the Soviet Union because of the Soviet refusal to return four disputed islands to the north of Japan seized in the closing days of World War II.

But underlying Japan's support for recognition of the independence of the Baltic republics—indicated

Monday by Chief Cabinet Secretary Misoji Sakamoto—is a hope that such territorial changes in the Soviet Union might facilitate a return of the islands.

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister To Visit

OW2608175091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent has been told at the Japanese embassy in Moscow that by the time this edition was being prepared it had received no concrete information about a visit to Moscow by Japan's deputy foreign minister, Mr. Saito. Embassy officials have indicated that the visit will take place but could not say when and for how long. Nor did they answer the question of what issues are expected to be discussed at the talks in Moscow.

At the Russian Foreign Ministry, however, DP managed to get much more detailed information. The ministry's officials have confirmed that Deputy Foreign Minister Saito is due to arrive in Moscow tomorrow, on August 27. He will convey a personal message by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu to the Russian president, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, and President Gorbachev. In addition, DP has learned that the Japanese minister plans to meet, if an opportunity arises, with other top officials of the Russian federation.

The Russian foreign ministry has not yet received any information if Mr. Saito is prepared to consider the issue of Japanese economic aid for Russia and the Soviet Union. It declined to confirm or deny reports that Mr. Saito would deliver an official invitation for Mr. Boris Yeltsin to visit Japan.

Answering the question of what date will be set for Prime Minister Ivan Silayev's visit to Japan (it was to take place from August 21 to 28 but was cancelled because of the coup attempt in the USSR), a high-ranking official of the Russian foreign ministry spoke of the need for putting it off for two or three months. In his words, it has been dictated by changed conditions in the USSR: The role of the Russian federation has greatly increased in the wake of the failed coup, both in the Soviet Union and internationally. "A visit by a head of the Russian government to Tokyo should reflect these new realities", he stressed.

Seoul's Assessment of Moscow Events Reviewed

SK2708113991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program]

[Text] Seoul radio reported last Saturday: The conservative Soviet force's 59 hour stay in power came to an end. There was nothing the eight members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency could do in the face of the indignant Soviet people.

ROK President No Tae-u has expressed his satisfaction with the restoration of constitutional order in the Soviet Union. In letters to Gorbachev and Yeltsin, he welcomed the normalization of the situation in the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the ROK Government expresses its willingness to sign treaties with the Soviet Union. The ROK Government has already stated that it will keep the program for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Officials and specialists believe that as a result of the coup, it is likely that the ROK will expand economic cooperation not only with the Soviet Union, but also with individual republics that have become more sovereign.

Since the event in Moscow will help the Soviet Union adapt to a market-oriented economy, the ROK business firms' capital investment in the Soviet Union will become more active, as the transition toward a market economy has been delayed by the combined resistance of the military establishment and industrialists.

Trade volume between the ROK and the Soviet Union will increase, and the West will promise Moscow economic aid in hopes that the Soviet Union will become stable. Under such conditions, Soviet industries will become conspicuously active. This in turn will increase the Soviet people's purchasing power.

The ROK-USSR treaties mentioned above will be signed in the near future. As a result, ROK fishermen will be able to fish in the Soviet Union's territorial waters. Even fisheries-related joint ventures will be set up.

The Soviet Union has high expectations from its cooperation with Seoul because the latter has established more active economic ties with Moscow than any other western country. As a result of such economic cooperation, the two countries will enter the stage of technological cooperation.

Also, the two countries will push for joint development of natural and energy resources. Since last August, Moscow and Seoul have been working out plans to cooperate with each other in developing coal and other natural resources, including oil and natural gas. Two research centers in Moscow have begun research on this.

A spokesman for the ROK Government stated that blueprints concerned will be (?completed) in the near future. At a meeting held last June to discuss bilateral cooperation in science and technology, the two countries agreed that the ROK will use 48 items of the latest Soviet technology. The transfer is expected to be carried out more earnestly. Seoul radio said all of this in its commentary on 24 August.

West Europe

Bonn 'Reevaluating' Gorbachev, Yeltsin Roles

PM2708114491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[By Ye. Bovkun: "New Emphasis in 'Ostpolitik'"]

[Text] Bonn—Support for democratic transformations, not least by economic means, will be maintained. There should be no doubt about that, people in the FRG believe. But since it is necessary to renew the forms of cooperation, how will relations with the Soviet republics be developed now and how will the roles of Yeltsin and Gorbachev in our country's future political structures be assessed?

Attitudes toward the Russian president have undergone a major reevaluation here. Many politicians are frankly admitting that hitherto they had not paid enough attention to Yeltsin, being embarrassed about his reputation as a "populist" (although H. Kohl is sometimes called a "populist chancellor" here) and keeping faith with "Gorby," whose charm had won over the Germans during his two visits to the FRG.

Centralist, if not "imperial" considerations had prompted Germany's leaders not to show too much interest in the Russian leadership's attempts to bring Russia to the forefront of world politics. People in Bonn are now starting to realize that the future stability of new Union structures—and, consequently, the security of European relations—is linked to the revival of Russia.

Yeltsin's outstanding role in organizing resistance to the putschists has been properly assessed: Ultimately all Russia rose up behind him. However, this has not led to the automatic devaluation of M.S. Gorbachev in German eyes. The joy following his return from Crimean captivity was universal and vigorous: Ultimately the demand for the president to be released was the point of departure for the ultimatum from the Bonn parliament and government—an ultimatum put to the "eight" on the second day of the coup.

Nonetheless, many of the people I spoke to were disappointed by Mikhail Gorbachev's first press conference to a certain extent. They asked the following questions:

Was the president not too gullible regarding his immediate entourage? How come he still has not seen through Lukyanov's trickery? Will he continue to entrust senior positions to conservatives? If so, will they not try again to abuse his trust at some point?

The president's intention to reform the CPSU also met with skepticism. Some of the people I talked to said: After all, 19 August marked not just a coup d'etat but a party coup too—the putschists ousted the general secretary, and none of the party leadership rushed to protest. Later, admittedly, the Ivashko statement appeared—but that was later. Can the general secretary trust a party which failed to protect him?

What changes the Germans make in their attitude to Mikhail Gorbachev as a world-class statesman will depend to a considerable extent on the answers to all these questions.

But it is the policy of economic cooperation with the USSR which has undergone the most substantive reevaluation over the past few days. Economic aid for reform promises to become more varied and concrete.

O. Lambsdorf, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, indicates that the Soviet Union should create new prerequisites for economic cooperation with the help of reform. The liberal politician considers it a major oversight by Gorbachev that he failed to pursue economic transformations with sufficient resolve. As a result, a "hybrid economy," representing an explosive mixture of planned and market principles, has come about in the USSR.

German Call for Increased Support Noted

LD2408162191 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By Sergey Sosnovskay]

[Text] Bonn Aug 24 TASS—Has the West acted correctly in all cases so as to preclude any attempt at illegal power takeover in the USSR? Is it not at least indirectly responsible for the fact that a group of plotters rose against the nascent democracy in the Soviet Union in order to stifle it and return the country to the epoch of power-and-pressure totalitarianism? These questions keep recurring in numerous speeches, comments, analyses and interviews with politicians published by the German press. They are all trying to sort out what brought about the tragic events that shook the world.

Several points stand out in this connection. If only the West—for instance at the London summit of the seven leading industrialized nations—had given Mikhail Gorbachev not only support in verbiage but something more substantial—be it credits, investments, participation in the privatisation, advice by truly efficient specialists and know-how in a broad sense of the word—no plotters would have probably appeared. In a more stable economic situation, to which social peace in society is so closely linked, democratic institutions are constantly nourished, their stamina increases and they are no longer easy to break.

It is not incidental that now, after the unconstitutional coup has failed, Bonn has taken upon itself the role of a locomotive to intensify economic aid to the Soviet Union and is calling on its allies and partners to follow suit.

German Minister of Economics Jurgen Moellemann said in Bonn that it is necessary to integrate the Soviet Union

in the system of the world economy. He favored granting the USSR full membership of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the organization of Economic and Social Development. In addition, he stressed during a meeting with journalists in Bonn, it is necessary to expedite talks on closer economic cooperation between the European Community and the Soviet Union.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl directly appealed to the leaders of the United States, Japan, Great Britain and other countries for upgrading their economic aid to the Soviet Union. "Help is needed at a specific moment, we must not wait to see in what direction the development will proceed," Kohl said in an interview with ZDF television company.

"Where should we be at the end of this week if the junta had won? We'd find ourselves compelled to discuss armaments again, not disarmament and detente. Everything would have become much more difficult. Because of this I believe that timely assistance is part of a reasonable policy".

German Foreign Minister Hans-Deitrich Genscher believes that a new stage of the revolution is taking place in the USSR. After the coup's failure the Soviet Union is becoming a different country, a union of sovereign republics.

Western politicians will have to deal both with the president and the government of this union and the presidents of individual republics, and first of all the president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin. All this, Genscher says, attaches a new scale to Germany's relations with the Soviet Union, where talks with republics will take a much larger role than talks with federal bodies.

He has called on the West to expand economic assistance to the USSR and said, in an interview with the NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG, that in the future the West's actions will be judged by how well aware it is of the historic scale of the present time.

One of the most frequent rebukes the German leaders have to hear now is their alleged one-way orientation toward President Mikhail Gorbachev and excessive restraint in the past in their relations with the Soviet republics and their leaders, above all to Russia's President Boris Yeltsin.

Chancellor Kohl disagrees. "We have had necessary contacts all the time and we shall maintain them in the future," he said.

Boris Yeltsin, the chancellor believes, "played a major and imposing role these days, displaying much courage, wisdom and stamina". He said he invited the Russian president to visit Germany and the visit will probably take place in October, although the specific date has not yet been defined.

Burlakov Says No Change in Troop Withdrawal

PM2308115591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander-in-chief of the Western Group of Forces, by correspondent Colonel B. Markushin; date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction: "Meeting in Wuensdorf"]

[Text] Manfred Stolpe, prime minister of the land of Brandenburg, met with Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander-in-chief of the Western Group of Forces, and Colonel General B. Grebenyuk, chief of the Military-Political Directorate of the Western Group of Forces. After the conversation took place, a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent posed several questions to Colonel General Burlakov.

[Markushin] Comrade Commander in Chief, what was the purpose of your meeting with the prime minister of the land of Brandenburg?

[Burlakov] It was an ordinary meeting which the prime minister and I agreed on earlier. But the fact that it took place right today, of course, had an effect on the conversation's contents. The complex situation in the Soviet Union cannot help but worry both us and our German partners. Therefore, we informed M. Stolpe and his entourage in a completely frank manner that the group of forces is engaging in combat training and effecting measures to systematically withdraw units to the Soviet Union at the same pace as before.

[Markushin] In the present situation, can any adjustments be made to the schedule for withdrawing the troops from Germany?

[Burlakov] For the moment there is no question of any adjustments being made. At the same time, I would like to emphasize once more that the pace of the redeployment remains linked to progress in the building of housing for the families of servicemen returning to the USSR.

[Markushin] The Western Group of Forces is physically separated from the homeland but is inseparable from it spiritually. What in your opinion is most important to the group's servicemen now?

[Burlakov] For all of us, ensuring a high level of combat readiness remains a task of primary importance. But this is unthinkable without the ordinary soldiers' and officers' moral cohesiveness. Today any indulgence at all in discipline and orderliness, and any ill-considered evaluations of what is taking place are inadmissible. We support the people from a moral point of view, and their striving to live in safety and harmony.

Troop Withdrawal To Accelerate

LD2708184891 Hamburg DPA in German 1813 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany will be accelerated. USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov announced this in an interview for ARD's [First German Television] "Panorama" program, to be broadcast this evening. Around 270,000 Soviet soldiers are stationed in eastern Germany. Because of the problems in accommodating them in their homeland, talk over the past few months extended the withdrawal delay.

Italian Government Confirms Economic Aid

LD2308103991 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Dmitry Polunin]

[Text] Rome Aug 23 TASS—The Italian Government confirms its earlier pledges to render economic assistance to the Soviet Union, Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis told a joint meeting of the Italian parliament's foreign affairs commissions.

According to the ANSA news agency, the economic aid to the USSR includes 7.200 billion lires a year.

De Michelis stressed Italy's readiness to step up efforts in the field in conjunction with other western powers.

The minister said the Italian Government intended to act to facilitate the Soviet Union's fast incorporation into the International Monetary Fund.

Telling the deputies about the latest events in the USSR, de Michelis stressed that the process of democratization in the Soviet Union had become irreversible. "Today, we can say that with full confidence," the minister noted.

De Michelis said that the failure of the coup in the USSR will positively influence the international situation. "This refers to the Yugoslav problem and the process of peace settlement in the Middle East".

Italy Liberalizes Trade With USSR

LD2408032291 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome Aug 23 TASS—Italian Minister of Foreign Trade Vito Lattanzio has signed two decrees on the liberalisation of the importation of Soviet goods into Italy. Aside from this, Lattanzio supported the use ahead of time of the credits granted by Italy to the Soviet Union for a period between 1990 and 1994.

A report of the Foreign Trade Ministry circulated here today says these measures reflect Italy's desire to promote further normalisation of the Soviet economy. The ministry expresses ever greater confidence that the time has come to move on taking decisions for rendering better coordinated and quick assistance to the Soviet Union and other former CEMA member-states both on bilateral and EEC levels.

Commenting on Lattanzio's decrees, the ANSA news agency pointed out that they were the first result of the restoration of democracy in the Soviet Union after the failure of the coup attempt.

Gorbachev Receives Message From the Pope

LD2408162591 Moscow TASS in English 2321 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] The Vatican Aug 23 TASS—Head of the Roman Catholic Church Pope John Paul the Second sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev today.

The message says: "At a time when you resumed your duties as USSR president, I sent to you my most sincere wishes of all kinds of well-being.

"Sad reports about the events that recently had taken place in the Soviet Union reached me during my trip to Hungary.

"It is with a sense of profound concern that I urged believers who filled the Square of Heroes in Budapest to join me in my prayer to God the peacemaker so that it should read [as received] your great country of fresh tragedies.

"Mister President, I pray to God for a safe outcome of these dramatic events in which you personally, your family and your country, were involved. I hope that you will continue huge work towards material and spiritual renewal of the Soviet Union. I pray to God to bless them. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Supreme Soviet

'Emergency Session' Resumes Work 27 August

LD2708083191 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The Soviet parliament on Tuesday resumed an emergency session following last week's abortive attempt to overthrow Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The session will assess the consequences of the coup and take measures to prevent similar events in the future.

Deputies will discuss changes in the federal government and other state bodies and assess the activities of the parliament, state, public and political organisations during the coup.

On Monday, parliamentarians discussed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's analysis of the situation in the country and suspended Anatolly Lukyanov's activities as Soviet parliamentary speaker, pending the investigation of the role of the national parliamentary leadership in the coup. They also voted to convene an emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies on September 2.

Monday's debates focused on a new Union Treaty, since the putsch has changed the positions of the majority of Soviet republics on this issue.

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev supported the idea of confederation since many republics declared their state independence or intend to do so. He proposed a mechanism for separating powers between federal and union republics in the future confederation.

Deputies Express Views

LD2708143691 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Deputy Sergey Ryabchenko stressed the "inadmissibility of territorial claims and threats to restore imperial structure under new names."

He believes "statements asserting that we have the right to dictate to other republics how to carry out democratisation mean the export of revolution."

Ryabchenko urged the Russian leadership "to immediately disavow a statement made yesterday to reconsider frontiers."

"The putsch did not fail since it foiled the signing of a Union treaty and aggravated inter-republican relations," Davlatnazar Khudonazarov from Tajikistan said.

"We can witness the process of Balkanisation like in Yugoslavia. Should Russia take a wrong step, all reactionary forces will immediately begin gathering in republics under the banner of national-communism," Khudonazarov said.

He believes the drive to form republican guards will lead to "a large-scale civil war."

Genrikh Igityan from Armenia described developments in Russia as "Bolshevik excesses." "Save us God from nationalism of the great people," he said.

Sergey Belozertsev said current problems can be solved only through a Union treaty.

His colleague Yuriy Burykh stressed the need for "an immediate restoration of governability in the country" and the supremacy of the constitution.

"Any violation of the Soviet Constitution will result in a sharp escalation of lawlessness and none of the powers or authorities will be able to stop new civil bloody arbitrariness."

The session will resume after a break.

Presidium Urged To Resign

LD2708104791 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talayev]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The second day of an emergency session of the Soviet parliament began on Tuesday by humbling the leadership of the national legislature for its inactivity and reticence and its delay in convening an emergency session.

Deputies accused it of not fulfilling its constitutional duty and proposed that the parliament's Presidium resign and the session be conducted by deputies who remained true to the Constitution during the coup.

Some deputies nominated Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchak to chair the session, but he rejected the proposal, saying "the parliament's historic mission is to preserve state structures of power to govern the country".

Vladimir Volkov from Sverdlovsk said "the coup showed the agony of the command and administrative system rather than a plot of a small group of people".

He warned, however, the old system buttressed by the Communist Party has yet to be dismantled. He stressed the coup "did not fail, because it foiled the signing of a Union treaty", scheduled for August 20.

The majority of deputies see the political task of the day to be the mobilisation of all forces to sign the treaty, which is the only way to stabilise the situation in the country.

Volkov stressed the need for granting the centre sufficient powers to this end. "If there is no powerful centre, there won't be any Union," he said.

Commenting on the worsening economic situation in the country, Volkov said democratic forces bear all the responsibility for rescuing the country from the present crisis. He called for civil peace and warned against a "witch hunt".

Viktor Alksnis, a leader of the hard-line parliamentary faction Soyuz, said that on Monday, Russian television announced two phone numbers installed for collecting information about participants in the putsch. He condemned this decision, saying that even under Stalin there were no such obvious calls for informants.

Gorbachev 'Final' Address

LD2708184191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1427 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Final" Address by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin, Moscow—live]

[Text] I shall make a brief concluding address, since I think that what has been said during these past few days following the report obliges us all once again to think everything over and to formulate for the congress fundamental proposals that we must prepare, and we have already identified in the resolution the main sections that must be adopted by the congress. My brief final address amounts to emphasizing certain points, based on your discussion—our discussion, let us say—and answering questions. But I have to say that there are so many questions that they have had to be grouped according to the three, four, five most controversial topics. Otherwise I will have to.... [changes thought] There is a folder full of questions. There are a lot of repetitions, a lot of them. Although, if you insist, I will take the questions and answer them. That must be clear here so that you do not think I am being evasive.

So, first, on the basis of the discussion that has taken place, I come to the conclusion that, if the Supreme Soviet had met on 19 August, the putsch would have been stopped right at the outset. So the first thing that we must do, and this must be contained in the decision, and it must be prepared either for the congress or on the basis of an eventual discussion by the congress, is that we are obliged to work out a constitutional mechanism that would rule out any repetition of what has occurred. Irrespective of which authoritative persons head the Supreme Soviet, there must be a mechanism that ensures, in critical situations, fateful situations for the country, the rapid and immediate involvement of our supreme state body, which the Supreme Soviet is, in defense of legality, law and order, and citizens' rights.

Next, the question of the fate of the Union. Perhaps the most tragic result of the coup is that those three days prompted, and powerfully prompted, centrifugal tendencies.

A real threat has arisen that the Union state may disintegrate. I speak of this with immense concern, with immense anxiety, for if this happens all the talk about doing this or doing that will all be empty words, it is simply empty chatter.

I put this question forward as the main one, as the basic one. There has been a lot of discussion here to the effect of: Let us wait and see if we break up or come together. Comrades, those are illusions. They are illusions. We have not yet split up, not collapsed, but there has simply been a weakening and a confrontation. Links have been broken. Look at the situation we are in.

If we do not speak out firmly today on this question, and do not take up a position before the congress; before the congress people must hear the position of the Supreme Soviet. [sentence as heard] I call on you, the leaderships of all the republics, all the citizens of the country, to think, and to think again and again about what might happen if we refuse to sign the Union treaty, if the republics start to dissociate themselves in a categorical way from the Union, if extremely complex questions are tackled hastily, in an emotional atmosphere, literally in just a few hours, questions connected with the destiny of this huge state that was formed over 1,000 years, and the fate of tens of thousands of people, their civil rights, borders, ownership of public wealth, earned by the labor of the whole people, including the question of the defense potential of the superpower that is our country.

Let each one think of the responsibility they bear, not only toward their own people, but also toward the whole of mankind. We simply do not have the right to make a mistake in solving the question of the fate of the Union.

This morning I met with Comrades Yeltsin, Akayev, Nazarbayev, and Yakovlev. We met and sat down to talk, to interpret and go on with what is going on here and around the capital and in all the regions. I tell you there is no calm. Comrade Lisitskiy is right. There is no calm throughout the country, in the sense that people are worried wondering what will happen to us, what will happen next?

We exchanged opinions on that question and we agreed to issue a statement on this. We reached a common standpoint—and it will be published—that the USSR must be preserved as a union of sovereign states. [applause]

All agreed that we must have common defenses, common armed forces. This does not mean, as Boris Nikolayevich said—and I quote what he said at this exchange of views—that, if something happens somewhere, in Russia itself for example, if we are talking about a national guard, this is three or four thousand men who can intervene in situations that sometimes

occur, when the parliament finds itself undefended, or something else happens. That is a different question. But we agreed in principle that there should a single Union, common armed forces, and a common economic area, the one that was already taking shape but is collapsing. If it does collapse, then we will be in trouble.

It is important to make the necessary adjustments to the agreed draft of the treaty without delay, to set about this, and to begin its signing. Two different themes have been heard here: Throw away this treaty, we are already in a different country, a different age, and so on. We have encountered the view here that it was agreed, and we were ready to sign it—that is right, to sign it, yes. We have heard both these views here. I think that we cannot ignore what has happened during this matter of days, adjustments are needed; adjustments that might take in the experience we have gained, the tragic experience, the lessons.

The top leaders of the republics that are in favor of the treaty have to act, and do this work immediately. Another thing we agreed on: Immediately, right now, to get down to elaborating an economic agreement for the 15 republics. What I proposed yesterday was that everyone...immediately, immediately. [sentence as heard] Now Comrade Silayev and that committee that has provisionally to maintain the positions, so that there should not be, so to speak,—so that integration continues—is currently holding talks with all the presidents, chairmen of the Supreme Soviets, so that it includes all representatives at the proper level, from each republic, so that this interaction might proceed.

So I would like to repeat: I support making changes. You cannot get away from this, comrades, we have to react to the position where we have found ourselves. To pretend that nothing has happened, that is not a policy at all. But I think that to throw away everything that we have achieved, that we have done, would be a mistake, a mistake. As far as I personally am concerned, I will do everything within my power to ensure that we do not cross the boundary beyond which the disintegration of our Union will become inevitable.

I am one of the ones, perhaps the first to have said that the situation is such that we need a Union of sovereign states. This formula should be at the foundation, taking into account now our latest experience, as well. If the issue is posed differently, I will say plainly, in front of everybody, in front of you, in front of the people, in front of the country: I am for a renewed Union, a profoundly reformed one, but I am for preservation of the Union, for implementation of the will of the people as expressed by it at the referendum. I will not agree to anything else.

Quite simply, if it is not like that, if it is otherwise, I shall make the decision and go. Then let anyone who wishes take the responsibility on himself. Nothing will be achieved if we now pull the union to pieces. Nothing will be achieved, I assure you. There will be trouble and just look, just look, someone has suspected me of supposedly virtually inciting things. And today, dear deputy Igityan, where are you?

[Unidentified voice] He has left.

[Gorbachev continues] He has left, he said. Ah, he has left because of what he stated. Yes, he said that I made certain speeches in order to divide, confront, and rule, and so on. I have to say that when I thought about the processes that have arisen as a result of language, as a result of culture, as a result of questions of some kind, at first glance seemingly not very major matters, but people have been stung to the quick and I realized that if we touched on more serious matters, and if, furthermore, the process of disintegration, disintegration got going, forces would emerge with which we would be unable to cope. And it was after this that I said, after this I said that we must not break up.

We need to distribute powers and carry out profound reform. Let us create the kind of center which the republics themselves feel they need and the kind of rights which they need, so that it is a new and real union. But, comrades, let us do it together. We can emerge together, we can manage this together and rise up. We have it all. All the more so since after this whole trouble, everyone realizes the whole tragedy that has happened, but at the same time we realize that, in many cases, the obstructions and blockages in our way have been swept aside, and now we can develop our potential and quickly move along the path of change.

For this reason, in this situation, this is what I want to speak about. About this, and only about this.

As for republics which express agreement to participate in an economic agreement but will not wish to sign the treaty—that is, in effect, take the road of separation from the Union, as is their constitutional right, then this separation must take place—I think this is a constitutional process, and we cannot refuse, nobody can refuse if the people themselves have decided and taken this position. Let everything be done in a constitutional framework.

What will relations be like? Again, they will find agreements, treaties, all that, on a set of issues embracing defense, economic, and particularly the rights of citizens, and so on. I will not repeat it. A whole system. Even territorial issues will arise.

Now that we are debating, I would like to extinguish this question, right now. Because the draft treaty, the draft Union treaty, has inviolability of borders written into it. As often as the issue has been raised at various attempts at this, always, at all sessions—in the concluding three or four months this issue was plainly and unambiguously put: inviolability of borders, in the Union treaty. But as soon as...[changes thought] We do not even know our borders in the Union.

I repeat again for the tenth time that 70 percent of our borders were defined by rural rayon and town soviets. And that was that. We handed over one from here to there, a region there, a whole immense space. And this has not disappeared, because after all this is inside one state and everything operates on what might be called a unity of interests and so forth. Issues of this kind have for us, in general...[changes thought] they have arisen from time to time as local issues. But to a considerable extent this was all regarded as the normal thing. After all, we are all in this together. What does it matter if there is something somewhere?

But you have to realize that when the issue did arise of republics pulling out, of demonstrative statements...[changes thought] It seems to me that there is an issue relating to Ukraine. But there is a note here, too. You know, what I think—I do not regard what has happened in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet as meaning that they have already written off the Union treaty, or indeed the Union. No, I do not see it that way. In the first place, the referendum in the Ukraine showed, according to the two formulations, so to speak, that the people of the Ukraine are for the union. And quite simply nobody has the right to disregard that, and that includes the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

In my view what happened in the Ukraine was a reaction to the situation, a reaction to this situation. It is like a kind of intense dialogue, you understand, which has emerged. On the other hand, questions arise here, such as if one or another leaves the Union, then questions arise, then questions arise that all this has to be considered if someone leaves—a whole range of questions—human, territorial, defense, and so on arise. I do not view this as being otherwise. I think that here, from this side and that, there is hastiness, impulsiveness, and perhaps a failure to think things through. What we have here is an intense form of dialogue, let us put it plainly.

I do not think—but what was confirmed, and what—and Boris Nikolayevich will again speak on this matter today, and, in my view, his understanding on this score and so forth will be communicated: that no questions arise in the Union. When it is a case of coming out of the Union then a question arises and one has to look into it.

This, strictly speaking, is what we have here. Comrades, there is anxiety on the part of the Russians, and this fuels them to strengthen more quickly the defeat that was inflicted on the putschists. There is no need at all to suspect that, as has been said here, a start is effectively being made today on implementing the concept of a Russian empire, that they have already—that the Russian leadership has sidelined the president of the country and that it is not taking any account of the republics.

Comrades, such designs—the people of Russia, Yeltsin, the leadership do not have such designs. Every day we talk, we coordinate things. The situation has dictated that there were many things that had to be dealt with. I told you about my talk before. I did not talk to Khasbulatov. Was this in a speech yesterday then? To put it briefly, I would ask you earnestly that this exchange expressed here, and the information you have been given that aroused such concern, that we should not transform it into us no longer caring and starting breaking and chopping things up and pulling them down.

No, I think this shows yet again that in our Union, in our renewed, reformed Union, the republics want to have new Union bodies with the powers they will give them, but bodies they will form, they want to be present in them, and so on. I understand that very well, and this is in accordance with the whole process of national revival going on throughout all the areas of our country.

But let us be responsible. Do not let our passions particularly, or our emotions, run riot on this main question. So let a clear, definite position on this question be heard from the Supreme Soviet as a result of our discussion and all the debate, that everything will be well thought out, so that the Union is preserved and renewed and lives and develops in the interest of the peoples of the republics that have decided to preserve it and undersign it. And with those republics that go down the path of nonmembership, or on the contrary, of some sort of cooperation—confederative, associative—in the framework of an economic agreement, and of other agreements on defense and so on, all these questions can be examined and solved.

I think that this, having been made into a more detailed concept, more or less streamlined, with a collection of these elements, is what should be put to the congress. It should be put to the congress so that it can approve these approaches, and that on this basis, so to speak, there should be agreement so that people should act in this way.

So I ask you, dear comrades, to keep it, to keep it. I am certain that Russians, making use of the prestige of the possibilities that have opened up before them, the consolidation that has happened, will play—there should be no suspicion of the Russian people—a consolidating role, to unite, and will do everything to this end.

I hope this will exist everywhere: Respect, respect from the Russians. This existed in the past and will continue to exist. All of these are passing factors. They must not push into the background that which long years, a hundred years, of history has taught us. This... [indistinct interruptions from hall]

[Nishanov] You are shouting from your seats, we cannot hear you, and you are disturbing the hall. Please I beg you, do not shout retorts from your seats.

Please go on, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Excuse the interruption.

[Gorbachev] I continue, I continue. Many of the speakers have said with alarm—almost all of them have said it—that the coup has still further weakened the

country's governability and has undermined the already disrupted interaction between the republics and the regions. The only possible line of conduct we have is what Comrade Burykh has correctly stated. Where is he? Somewhere on this side of the hall.

Comrades, if we allow an escalation of this process, disruption of all the ties and this ungovernability—and this is taking place on all levels in the state structure—for now this has occurred not only in the center, but also in the republics and in the localities where everything is even demoralized, and generally this whole situation is very complex. Therefore the next, the second task, the second goal is—and I believe this should be reflected in our decision—that we must express ourselves in favor of maintaining and clearly conducting a policy of governability, of upholding and strengthening governability.

What have we here? Of course, we now must decide the questions that the situation has asked about the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the Supreme Soviet leadership and about everybody whom the Supreme Soviet and the congress calls. Let us put it like that. We must decide everything that is necessary but must not destroy, rather renewing and putting in place dependable people on a basis of harmony who have our faith and who, we know, will be followed and have the faith of the country. Otherwise, the movement will not go forward now. This must be done. But if we now are to disperse the Supreme Soviet, to disperse the Congress of People's Deputies, and to destroy those structures...[sentence incomplete as heard]

Dear comrades, you might get impassioned people who are fed up with life saying this at some street rally, and they justifiably will demand that liability must be borne, and so on and so forth. But you and I, who are responsible for the country, who are the people with the mandate here, cannot embark on such a path. So we need to have a regrouping of political forces, to get this renewal done. This is for a certain transitional period while we decide things, and elect and form in a legal way in the next few months new structures on the basis of the new Union treaty.

I agree, or rather I am pleased that the comrades have supported the idea that now, by reforming the Security Council, a constitutional body, we must create a body that would assume the main political responsibility for uniting these forces and would promote cooperation and interaction in elaborating the solution of all these problems that we must resolve without delay. This must be done now.

I, Comrade Vladislavlev, perhaps, would even...[changes thought] Those proposals which you have to set up alongside the Security Council, these few structures—this does not mean all of them, I—then this is by ear—to set up such committees which would take a range of matters upon themselves. [sentence as heard] This has to be done. Take a look.

But this does not mean that, alongside what has started to function and has functioned and may function, and there are new people there, and we will set up others in parallel, and then some kind of incomprehensible enmity, a clash, disorganization again. That is, where it is necessary, set up these new structures alongside the Security Council and the Supreme Soviet, under their control, which would tackle the practical matters of the transition period.

I have the view that this is the prerogative of the Supreme Soviet—and before the Congress—to resolve the matter of the Security Council. And at present I am holding talks with comrades on this issue, and when, in the course of the next one or two days they are formed, I will bring them to you and we shall consult.

Further, on the same matter. Why governability; why do I pose this question with such intensity and support the intensity with which deputy Burykh posed this question? Because governability is food, governability is fuel, governability is the work of people—it is what today—if it vanishes and there is an escalation of destruction, then that wave of dissatisfaction will strike us all, and we will find ourselves in the situation of which those who wanted to resort and did resort to a coup d'etat were actually speaking all the time.

In this connection what is necessary is the restoration of normal—or rather—and accord between the main political forces. This has existed. It has been present here. Democrats have to meet everyone half-way. I say this primarily of myself. And you, ask yourselves the answer-...[corrects himself] set yourselves this question, and I think that you will all give just the same answer. Step across some things which so far we have been unable to step across.

And further, we are all resolutely in favor of people who have infringed the constitutional order suffering punishment according to the law.

But it is extremely dangerous to attempt to extend even political mistrust, let alone repressions, to broader circles, thereby erecting new barriers between citizens and involving society in a phase of clashes. If this suddenly gets underway and takes off, then we will again find ourselves on the threshold of a civil conflict from this side. Also, people cannot work to full capacity in such an atmosphere. The plotters and direct executors, those who opted for that turn are one matter, but it is a different matter when people found themselves in a completely different situation. With the latter, there must be discussion, there must be conclusions, there must be... [changes thought] but one must not drive people into such a state where they are morally terrorized.

If the desire to embark on the road of political revenge were now to gain the upper hand, that, in general, would, in the final analysis, mean the defeat of the democratic forces. And, as has already been rightly pointed out here, the intentions of the plotters would have been realized.

That is the way it will be if we do not sign a Union treaty. That is the way it will be if, instead of civil peace, we obtain universal enmity. That is the way it will be if people are persecuted for their convictions, are thrown out of their jobs, and remain without the support and protection of society. In other words, there must be legality—legality and law and order. Then we will hold our ground on that. I am very pleased that, even when discussing such a question, perhaps to a considerable extent a clear one, the Supreme Soviet has made a clear demarcation at the initiative of deputies who are lawyers, that what the investigation and the court have to establish—and they have to do that—and with regard to political evaluations and organizational conclusions and so on—that is a matter for us. One must firmly abide by this approach and I support the proposal that a parliamentary commission should be set up that would participate in that general process.

Now, for answers to questions. Comrades Burykh, Lisitskiy, Shamikhin, and others express the fear that the implementation of the idea of a confederation will lead to an outburst of ethnic enmity and the development of national bolshevism, and they express concern at the schedule for the signing of the Union treaty, in connection with the declaration of independence by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. There are also other questions bearing on interethnic conflicts.

I shall take it that I have already answered that question. I have set out my stand. Regarding the second part, I believe that this question is correctly worded. We must immediately set about establishing a qualified, competent parliamentary commission to start without delay, right after—we have to put them together now, and after the congress they can set about considering the specific situation in each interethnic conflict. And if it is possible to report to the Congress of People's Deputies, because work has been done, they can report the results and submit proposals. If they need to continue their work, they can do so and report to the Supreme Soviet.

Here is a note from deputies Poluektova, Sulakshin, Zhuravel, Markevich, Kirilov, Sokolov, Podziruk, Alekseyev, and Nemtsov which gives an assessment of the role and behavior of various state structures in the preparation and execution of the coup d'etat and expresses a proposal on reorganizing the government, the state security bodies and the Interior Ministry and on setting up new structures and mechanisms under the Supreme Soviet and the president which will perform a monitoring function to rule out the possibility of a repetition of what happened during these days.

First, you should know that we are tackling a number of specific matters. We are now disbanding in practice—the question of the KGB collegium has arisen here, and it is being disbanded in practice already. As Comrade Bakatin has told me, he has submitted a decree to me on this matter. The military subunits which were under the authority of the KGB were all transferred. Yesterday I signed a decree on this. They have all been returned to the Ministry of Defense. A number of other practical matters have been settled. Now, I would say this, so that we do not unleash too great a discussion on this point: Very many important things have been said here on what must be done, and the most generalized—I want to support Academician Ryzhov, who expressed the view that we must return to what was begun once but not seen through to the end. I request immediately—I think they have even continued working. I know about this; the academician told me. Therefore, on this matter too, we shall already be able to draft particular blocks in principle in time for the Congress. So I support this.

Deputy Belozertsev has asked a crucial question, about the president's information system. Yes, there were major flaws here too, since I was obliged to rely on an analysis and assessments of particular structures, and there was no system—where is Comrade Belozertsev?—to guarantee a flow of comprehensive, objective information. I see that, I see that.

I have now issued a decree on setting up a foundation for research of public opinion and information on the basis of some former school that belonged to the Central Committee. This relates to that matter. I think that the deputies will get involved in this so as to generally organize a very serious and powerful structure that will enable all of us to gain that information. [unidentified speaker from hall interrupts] An independent structure.

An independent structure supplying the president and you in a way that it arrives simultaneously and is available for examination. But one still has to think things through. I think this is not the end of the matter. One still has some thinking to do about the system. A number of notes have come in. Among them, Comrades Akhunov and Nordrya are raising the question of the personal responsibility of certain top state officials, both in the Union and the republics, of those officials' involvement in the coup or approval of it.

The comrades are asking me to express my opinion and attitude concerning facts detailed by them. I refuse to do so. I have stated firmly my principled approach to this. Everything must be decided according to the law. Everything must be assessed in the prescribed way. There must be no allowances made in this and there also must not be any instances of lawlessness. With regard to specific individuals, I should use this question to say that when I arrived back from the Crimea, and when I was totally isolated, and when the first information reached me, I went to a news conference relying on that information and then I was immediately asked: What are you saying? He did this, he did that.

Therefore I say to you, especially when it is all about details across the Union concerning who adopted what position, that I believe I would be guilty of an unfounded approach if I did that. And it would be unacceptable for me, as the country's president, to get up and give

personal evaluations and conclusions. So I have stated in principle my position about my attitude to this problem, a grave problem.

A considerable number of the questions from deputies, including Boyko, Yastrebov, Kartashov, Sokolov, (Uldzitskiy) concern specific economic problems. The comrades ask what level will engage in forecasting how to act to stabilize price formation, to increase real wages, and to restore fairness concerning workers in agriculture. Notes have been sent in with proposals on specific matters of socioeconomic development, and I have even been given plans that have been drafted. Comrades, I believe it will be correct if we open up discussion of these issues at the Congress of People's Deputies, and on the basis of these considerations of a general nature I am going to try to report to you in an expansive form with an interrelated body of measures that is connected with our prior work but also takes account of the current situation. True, I do not know if I will make the report. That is a decision for the congress.

In any case I must prepare myself.

A large group of comrades—Shchelkanov, Dadamyan, Izmodenov, Yaroshinskaya, Amanova, Luchenok—ask the question: How could I have appointed to high positions people who went down the road of treachery? How can one explain the fact that there were many such people in my entourage? As one of the deputies wrote: Why did you collect such an entourage around yourself?

I will say candidly, that is the most difficult question for me. The most difficult question for me. The only thing that I can do is repeat what I have said: In order for these crass errors in cadre selection to be avoided in future, we must all keep principled counsel, and come to agreement, especially right now, to form all our bodies on the basis...[changes thought] but we must do this quickly, nevertheless, so that we can trust them and the people will accept them. That, in fact, is what I want to say.

Well, a specific question. Now, yesterday, after the end of the evening session, when I went out, Lukyanov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, was wandering in the corridor and met me. I did not converse with him. I no longer even have any desire to talk to him, because I personally pinned hopes on Lukyanov, that he would not betray either our cause or me. We go back 40 years; our relationship started in our student days. Either he gave in to cowardice, started trying to save his skin...[changes thought] but in such posts, you know, we have to think of quite other things and quite in a different way. Overall, this is particularly bitter for me, because his position as chairman of the Supreme Soviet is unique. Unique. Well, that does not make it any easier for you, or for me. It is a lesson, a difficult one for me.

Deputy Sukhov has raised a lot of questions with me in a note. His note contains the same theme of suspicion that was expressed in his speech, as you heard, and in his spoken questions at yesterday's session. The deputy demands, for example, to hear my opinion as to why the plotters, having been overthrown, rushed to get my advice. He expresses his dissatisfaction about the fact that in that time, apart from me, none of the opponents of the self-styled committee was arrested for that. This is not very clear. Until what time...[interrupted by shouting from hall; Nishanov tries to call to order]

Comrades, I would like to say that attempts to blackmail the president, to force him to surrender plenipotentiary powers, to issue a decree on the state of emergency, and to give up his post did not succeed. I will not go into detail now, I have already spoken about that and do not want to go into detail now. But I would like to tell the deputies once again, in front of our whole people: At that time, they decided to depict the president as being in such a state, as being bedridden after the blood circulation to the brain had been disturbed, that he was receiving medicine and generally did not understand what was going on around him. And this was not the only instance. Yesterday—the day before yesterday—I was given a certificate by two doctors, yes, it is in their possession; I do not know if it has been burned or not but they wrote to me what had been demanded of them. It was said that Gorbachev is under threat of arrest. He must be saved and for this purpose it should be said that he is ill, thereby saving him. So they urged the doctors to act in that way. You will do this... and make the diagnosis more grave. And they demanded this up to 1600 on the 19th of August, until the news conference, perhaps, in order to make the announcement.

It was written that the disturbance of circulation to the brain and so on, a grave condition, had taken place on the 16th. But on the 17th I spoke with Yeltsin—it is a pity they have not published it—and on the 17th I spoke with Yeltsin and Nazarbayev and on the 18th I spoke with Volskiy, Shcherbakov, with about seven people, on Sunday, two hours before...incidentally, with Yanayev, too, and he asked me when I was arriving because he would meet me. [laughter in the audience]

So I categorically reject all sorts of hints that the president was not up to the mark and started behaving selfishly, and I will not answer these questions any more. This is disgraceful! [applause] The investigation will show everything, the investigation will show. It is just the same with the idea that someone let it out that Gorbachev could have gotten in touch, but he declined, so that he could sit it out and come back later—the safe option. If the putsch succeeded he would (?hand over to them), the putschists, and then come back. If the putsch collapsed he would again be in the right and come back later, and now, and so on.

Whatever happened I would not be knocked out! If those three days failed to unsettle me, whatever they tried to do, then these attempts at blackmailing me will not succeed. A team led by the deputy heads of government communications was set up on the 17th; it arrived to destroy the president's communications center and destroyed it entirely, also including those... [changes thought] Do not ask me further questions on the layout

and all, it is not for everybody, this is not a topic for the marketplace. Also, those who had always had communication were unable as well. What was the matter? The reason was that these strategic channels of communications are guarded by the KGB, too. You see, that is where it is rooted. So, because it was an organization of protection for everybody, so to speak, hope was placed on it. So there are conclusions here.

Therefore, Deputy Sukhov, you are constantly seeking evidence showing that I am betraying the people. You ask me questions all the time. You know, I always state my position. Incidentally, in the second part I even told these plotters: Listen, you are adventurists, this is an adventure. I reject it; you will perish, but this is your fate. You are making your choice, this is your business, but you will bring ruin upon the people.

I propose to convene the Supreme Soviet, a congress, and to decide. You have the following point of view: The current situation, which worries all of us...[changes thought] you have a point of view to the effect that the current situation requires urgent and speedy measures, and so on. I am of the same opinion. Let us get together and decide about what measures to take but there should not be a putsch. This is the point. Let us get together.

Varennikov made the rudest, the rudest attacks. Well, I took the same liberties, and told them to go where Russian people would usually tell them to go. [laughter in the hall, applause]. Well, perhaps they have, perhaps they have.

Here is a very big and serious question. Deputy Martirosyan raises the issue of releasing the reactionary generals; he regards as such all the USSR deputy ministers of defense, commanders in chief of branches of service and sectors of the Armed Forces, 90 percent of the commanders of army districts, and heads of military political bodies.

Well, first, I cannot take this position of wholesale...[changes thought] One should examine everything and the examination will show. This is the only way. Lawyers, especially from that corner, have come out many times and said: Only in accordance with the law, only examination, in the Supreme Soviet...Nobody can...[sentence as heard]

There are things that are already clear and have already been removed. I will not go through them now. A great many have been removed, from among the commanders. I have just been told, I gave instructions this morning, when I learned that General Makashov sent a coded message of demands, expressing dissatisfaction that Yeltsin had not yet been arrested. I said that if that is the case, call him in to explain himself. Today they took an explanation from him, or he is writing an explanation; he had a conversation with the minister of defense. It has to be looked into. Like that, every specific case must be looked into. [indistinct shouting from the hall]

That is how it has to be investigated. But only like that. When all of us here show what democracy is, that is the law. That is the law. Justice. Everyone will get his desserts according to the law.

By the way, when we talk about generals, let us not forget that General Shaposhnikov and his Armed Forces did not join the coup. After all, it would have taken only three planes, and nothing would have been left of the White House and the Kremlin itself except memories. Chernavin did not join the coup, it is said. That is what they say. Grachev did not change sides. Anatoliy Aleksandrovich [Sobchak], you said that the army commander—Samsonov, wasn't it?

[Nishanov interjects] Samsonov.

[Gorbachev continues] He went to see the mayor, or rather, the mayor went to see him. That is more accurate. There was a discussion with all of them. The commander said: Don't worry—troops won't move into Leningrad. I spoke to Anatoliy Aleksandrovich and that is what he told me. These people are also our generals. Furthermore, the army as a whole did not switch sides. The officers, the middle-ranking men, stayed loyal. So, comrades, you cannot say, as some are, that the army has cracked up and so on. The army showed that it has changed. Let us give credit to the fact that, as a result of difficult, large-scale perestroyka processes, painful processes, a different army is being born. If that was not happening, it would have been simple for these putschists to accomplish their plans.

Deputy Martirosyan raised the question in his note about sacking ...No, I have said that already.

Next, about the general procurator of the USSR. In speeches at the session and in notes the question of suspending the functions of the general procurator of the USSR has been raised. Well, for that it is essential to have concrete and specific information. I have given instructions to investigate this matter in detail, to throw light on it completely.

If the need arises then the question should be presented before the Congress. There can be no doubt of this. But, from the beginning, we read one thing in IZVESTIYA and the next day we read something else.

[Nishanov] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Right up to the end, and they are even saying that there are two entries somewhere by correspondents, or something, and they are to be revealed, or something. Well, briefly speaking, comrades, we cannot do otherwise.

A number of people's deputies, in particular Opolinskiy and Kutsenko, are posing the question of the party's responsibility, and mine personally as general secretary of the Central Committee, about my attitude toward declaring the Central Committee outside the law. [general movement in the hall; voices]

[Nishanov] Listen, please! Sit down; then you can have your say if you want to. Sit down!

[Gorbachev] I cannot add anything to what I said in my statement. [unidentified speaker shouts from the hall]

[Nishanov] Comrade Opolinskiy, I ask you to sit down. Then, if you have some information you can let us have it. The president is now speaking. We must have decorum, at least. Please!

[Gorbachev] My position is this: I am resolutely opposed to the creation and the development of anticommunist hysteria in the country against millions of rank-and-file communists, workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia—honest people who have not besmirched themselves in any way. And, on the contrary, I have spoken out and invited them to create a new party which would support us, those who are devoted to democratic transformations in the country and who would support these transformations, to unite. And I have expressed an idea on how this should proceed. Deputy Opolinskiy reproaches me for the fact that immediately after returning to Moscow I spoke about the possibility of reforming the CPSU. And a day later, as he writes, I changed my mind about reforming it. He describes this as lack of principle. This may be. That is what you wanted?

[Unidentified speaker from the hall] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Well, look here...

[Unidentified speaker from the hall, interrupting] Personal responsibility.

[Gorbachev] Wait. Of course, of course. Yes, yes. He describes this as lack of principle. I cannot agree with you. I have already said that for a long time I really believed that the CPSU could be renewed. But the chance has been missed. And you know how much effort, generally speaking, I put in to put the reactionary wing—let us be frank—the rightwing current in the party in their place at the 28th Congress and at subsequent plenums. And no attempts to divert me from this were successful.

Indeed, what are you listening to? I had to defend Latsis at every turn at each plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee, to say that he is a democrat, a very balanced and responsible person who thinks in a realistic and forward-looking manner. And all the time they wanted to send him somewhere. Is that all of it? Everybody knows that. Everybody knows that. Therefore, my position is known. It was clear and precise at the congress, too. You remember when I proposed a list of 75 most illustrious people representing freedom of thought, and they were taken out. I told the congress to decide the matter and it was decided. I feel all right. My conscience is clear. Because if I was mistaken in thinking something, maybe it was this. And I think that if we had not gone and taken this path of democratization of society and had not created another society, and if the party masses had not undergone all the same the process—they underwent the process there and everywhere—then the putsch organizers could easily have done away with the perestroyka people.

Therefore, we had to steer our ship between Scylla and Charybdis, and to make sure it did not run ashore, and so forth. Probably, it was not always like that. But still the same course had to be plotted. If it is found that the wheel has to be turned in quite different directions, then this all must be decided in the appropriate way. But I will not allow blackmail and I will not allow humiliation. Insults must also end.

You and I must now make good preparation for the congress. I very much implore you, as we discuss what we are to prepare for the congress, to form groups that would help me to elaborate things, too. And, relying on your opinions, I would present collectively contemplated proposals on the main blocks of issues. Because you understand that I need to be helped now. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Sobchak Appeal on Weaponry

LD2708155391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0955 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Speech by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak at extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] I would like to make the following appeal to you, and also to the president of the Soviet Union, who is present in this hall. I think we should adopt a special decision concerning the statement made by the Ukrainian leadership regarding the claim that the armed forces stationed on the territory of the Ukraine, including naval forces and so on, should be subordinated to the Ukrainian leadership.

Esteemed comrades, we need to remember this: We live in a country stuffed with nuclear warheads and there is no small amount of nuclear weaponry on the territory of the Ukraine. Any kind of claim by one republic or another that some of the armed forces or some of the weaponry should be handed over to their control are inadmissible.

We have a Union Constitution today. We have appropriate bodies of Union authority and, therefore, while recognizing statements of state independence and the right of republics to make decisions of that sort as legally justified, we, as a body of Union authority, ought to state that there are matters which fall only under Union jurisdiction and there are matters which no republic can be allowed to decide on its own. Despite proclaiming its independence as a state, a republic can decide such matters only by sitting down at the negotiating table, so these issues should be resolved only on the basis of the preexisting political reality and not on the basis of the

sort of political recklessness—or even madness, I would call it—which pushes for the making of decisions of that sort.

Rumyontsev Against Union 'Collapse'

LD2708150591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0941 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Speech by Oleg Rumyontsev, senior secretary of the RSFSR Constitutional Commission, at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Supreme Soviet Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Federation: We have already heard the word victory here many times. Evidently, this word is a little premature. The euphoria of victory as such is altogether premature, and it should not keep either the country's Supreme Soviet or Russia's Supreme Soviet and those of other republics from adopting the decisions that people so anxiously await. To my great regret, we ourselves have by our joint efforts come to face a danger such that it may come to pass that victory is stolen not by someone else, but we could drown it ourselves in words, and help each other by our joint efforts to lose this victory. The electors, to my great regret, have already seen for a week the helplessness and passivity of the country's's supreme body of state power. In view of this, the republics have put out the cry: Every man for himself. This is a cry that we cannot by any means accept today in these difficult times. The country was drawn into the coup, drawn into the state of emergency. And the latter continues; not in the shape of a putsch, but in the shape of an antistate coup, the collapse of which has been created over centuries, the collapse of which was created for centuries by our forefathers, our joint efforts of all the peoples that live on this land. We have stopped the junta, but the longed-for peace has not arrived, and evidently, the main thing we should get on with now is working out a technique to respond to the accursed question: What is to be done? The main issue is the destiny of the Union, the destiny of the country's bodies of power, the Union's bodies of power. I want to set out my version of the reply to this most accursed question of what should we do now.

The further destiny of the whole country depends today on serious factors, and there are not so many of them; first and foremost, the presence of an authoritative leader. Yesterday's sitting, the chaos and confusion that reigned here, the absence of decisions, regrettably showed that there is not any clear and obvious leader in the Union parliament. Regrettably, the president of the country is also losing his influence as an authoritative leader. He is losing his charisma of influence on the development of the situation. But today it is very important that there should be a decisive person, a decisive leader, capable together with those around him of controling the situation and cementing together what is going on. A reassignment of priorities took place during the events of 19-22 August. Today the main things are decided not by the post occupied or title, but by the ability to control events and to enjoy the trust of the masses, the trust of the Army, the trust of a vast amount of real, live people. This is important to prevent someone from trying to turn the local army formations in the regions on the people, if someone tries to use the people's activeness today, and because of the danger of a lumpen-ochlocracy that is today sweeping the towns and the streets of Moscow at least. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is today becoming one such leader. The West has realized this, being seriously concerned about the avalanche-like tempo of the Union's collapse. I want the republics to understand this. I want them to support the Gorbachev-Yeltsin link being forged today. It is not that the Russian leadership is trying to take control of Union processes in order to impose the Russian vision of the development of events upon the whole country. I think that today we—Russia, the Russian leadership—are acting not from the position of an elder brother, we are not imposing anything on anyone. But at the same time, we act from the position of responsible politicians who cannot permit the collapse that is taking place before our very eyes.

Igityan: Gorbachev 'Betrayed' People

LD2708143491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1015 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Speech by Armenian Deputy Genrikh Igityan at extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] I am returning to a different country, said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at his news conference, but he stuck to the socialist choice. Evidently, 72 hours is not long enough to sense all the delights of our ill-starred system, which Andrey Dimitriyevich Sakharov realized even before his exile.

Of all human failings, treachery is the worst. Yes, you were betrayed Mikhail Sergeyevich [turns to look at Gorbachev]. You were betrayed by a bunch of good-for-nothings. But how many people have you betrayed? You have betrayed the veterans of the front who have medals, the invalids of the Great Patriotic War who have been beaten with clubs in Nagorno-Karabakh in view of their children and grandchildren by stupid kids in our valiant Soviet Army. They were led by your emissary the Communist Palyanichko, who brought back colossal experience from Afghanistan, which helped him rain fire on villages containing civilians, this time in his own country of soviets where a person can breathe so freely. You have betrayed the Armenian, Lithuanian, Meskhetian Turk, Moldavian, Tajik, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Ossetian, Abkhazian, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Jewish, and Russian children who have been orphaned and made refugees in their own country, eternally homeless. You have betrayed whole peoples who naively carried your portraits at demonstrations. People against people, workers

against the intelligentsia, the Army against the people—in short, divide and conquer.

You are without a doubt a talented politician, and without doubt you have done much not only for our country but also for the globe. You have done a lot. However, you regrettably have a special gift for surrounding yourself with totally ungifted, puffed-up fellow- thinkers of a distinctly antidemocratic type. This is a paradox. With mugs like Pavlov, Yanayev, Pugo, Yazov, Kryuchkov, Lukyanov, Polozkov, Ivashko, Palyanichko—there are too many to list, there are many mugs—how can you build a democratic, rule-of-law society? Literally not a single sympathetic human face. But for all that, you are personally devoted. You trusted Yazov and Kryuchkov especially, because Kryuchkov is not a professional. Just as the close entourage of Stalin and Hitler, by the way, were not professionals. And Beriya was no professional, either. As if professionalism and decency were incompatible. There is a wise Armenian saying. [Igityan passage in Armenian omitted] I find it difficult to translate. [laughter]. You are rescued from captivity by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, whom you have repeatedly sunk and shamed. You did not end up with a single decent person around you who was in fact devoted, such as Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, or Silayev, or Rutskoy.

Alksnis Questions Telephone Denunciations

LD2708141891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0719 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Speech by Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Alksnis at extraordinary session of USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Yesterday, Comrade Khasbulatov raised the question of disbanding the corps of secret KGB informers. I support this proposal. But, I have a question. Why is it that yesterday on Russian television, on the Vesti program at about 2000, Comrade Yuriy Rostov gave two telephone contact numbers any citizen can call to give information on people who were mixed up in or sympathized with the Committee for the State of Emergency? Such interest in the age of information technology and communication is, of course, to the merit of the new-found democrats, I think. Well, the thinking of Vyshinskiy and Beriya did not go this far. They required at least a written denunciation of People. Thank you.

Economic Policies Considered

LD2708123291 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—An emergency session of the national parliament on Tuesday focused on ways to rescue the country from economic collapse.

Economist Mikhail Bocharov pointed serious errors in the Soviet leadership's economic and agricultural policy, while his Estonian colleague Mikhail Bronshtein warned against "an economic war", which breaks traditional ties between republics.

"If this continues, in three-four months we will be swept away by a new mob and no one will survive," he said.

Ilya Zaslavskiy blamed the session for "seeking people responsible for the putsch". He said the coup was apparently caused not by compromises Gorbachev spoke about on Monday but "compromises between the command and administrative system and market relations, which failed to display their advantages, while the former one did not work any more, causing the outbreak".

Pavel Bunich, leading Soviet economist, said "history has given us a chance for radical economic reforms". He called for reviewing previous approaches towards privatisation and free enterprise and stressed the need for wider barter deals, including with farmers and enterprises in the Soviet Union and in East European countries.

Democratic Reform Movement Program

LD2708172191 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—The Movement for Democratic Reforms came up with a programme to haul the country out of the present crisis. Aleksandr Vladislavlev, vice president of the USSR Scientific and Industrial Union and USSR people's deputy, presented this programme to the extraordinary session of the Soviet legislature today.

The programme envisages that the heads of all union republics should sign without delay a treaty to introduce the administration of the transition period in the country. All issues relating to the declaration of independence by the republics which sign the treaty, the ensurance of the country's security and the fulfillment of international economic and political commitments assumed by the USSR earlier should be settled during this period.

The authors of the programme also propose setting up inter-republican bodies to settle territorial, property and other mutual claims of republics, to exercise control over the bodies responsible for the country's security and fulfil its international commitments.

The programme stipulates pursuing a coordinated credit-financial and monetary policy, forging mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between republics and coordinating the operation of crucial sectors.

The programme proposes making the USSR Security Council, which should include the presidents of the union republics, the country's supreme collective management body.

The authors propose building relations with republics which will not wish to sign the treaty on the principles governing international economic relations.

To implement this programme, Vladislavlev suggested putting on the agenda of an extraordinary Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, which opens on September 2, the issue of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution concerning the administration of the country in the transition period.

TV, Radio Carry 26 Aug Session Proceedings

LD2608071791

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0659 GMT on 26 August carries a relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

The relay opens with deputies awaiting the beginning of the session. Nishanov comes to the microphone to advise deputies on the seating arrangements.

At 0702 GMT session chairman Laptev declares the session open and calls on deputies to stand in memory of those who died during the coup.

Laptev goes on to speak of his shame at the failure of the USSR Supreme Soviet to uphold the law during the days of the coup. An analysis of what happened is needed. We have to speak of our own responsibility for what was done by those who plunged the country into disaster. We will have to pay dearly for our three days of silence. The Supreme Soviet can and must restore the authority that has been lost. At 0709 GMT he again declares the session open.

Laptev adds that the president is present, and the camera shows Gorbachev seated on the platform.

At 0710 GMT Laptev continues by proposing approval of the agenda, first in principle, thereafter point by point. Laptev is reminded that deputies have not yet been registered. Registration takes place.

Laptev then seeks to move on, but a deputy from the floor raises the question of television coverage—he wants it in full, but not live, in recorded form only.

Laptev proposes that the opening and the president's address should be transmitted live: he is interrupted by other proposals from the floor. Laptev puts the proposal that there should be a full relay.

After further remarks from the floor he again puts the suggestion that there should be a full relay. There are no objections to this.

At 0715 GMT the deputies agree that in principle all voting shall be by name, with the exception of technical, procedural questions. Laptev puts it to a formal vote: 454 vote in favor, 2 vote against, 10 abstain. It is adopted that all voting will be by name.

Laptev then returns to the issue of the agenda.

A deputy seeks to reopen the question of the television coverage which Laptev says has been decided. However he calls for a vote on the proposal to have delayed recording: 12 vote in favor of that proposal, 364 vote against, and 41 abstain. The proposal that the television relay should be delayed and in recorded form is rejected.

At 0719 GMT a deputy from the floor says there should be a separate item on the agenda: the need for an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Laptev says that becaue of repair work in the session hall this could be convened only from 2 September at the earliest. He calls for a vote, all those in favor of convening a session on 2 September: 438 vote in favor, 8 vote against, and 20 abstain. The decision is taken: there will be a session of the congress of People's Deputies on 2 September 1991.

At 0720 GMT the agenda overall is put to the vote: 394 vote in favor, 15 vote against, and 25 abstain. Laptev now calls for suggestions and proposals on each item on the agenda—first on the president's report.

At 0724 GMT a deputy raises the issue of the publication of the results of the voting by name.

Laptev says the results of the voting will be posted as soon as they are produced by the machine. Laptev adds that IZVESTIYA from today is an independent newspaper. We can approach it with a request to publish the voting results if we wish.

Laptev goes on to say he is receiving an avalanche of written proposals, including one that we should form a session secretariat. He reads names proposed for inclusion in a session secretariat noting that USSR Supreme Soviet sessions have not had secretariats before. One proposed member of the secretariat is not actually a Supreme Soviet deputy.

At 0727 GMT a deputy from the floor says that the initiative group has proposed another list for the session secretariat. Laptev says he has the initiative group's proposal.

Laptev then calls for a vote on the proposed secretariat: 427 vote in favor, 14 vote against, and 35 abstain.

Laptev says that the secretariat of the session has been elected.

Next, Laptev indicates where the members of the session secretariat are to sit and moves on to the formation of a group to control the voting equipment. A list of proposed names has been circulated. It includes non-deputies, but they are specialists in the voting equipment. The commission is voted on: 464 in favor, 2 against, and 5 abstain.

At 0732 GMT a deputy from the floor calls for the session to determine its position on the independence of the three Baltic republics.

Laptev replies that that issue is under the purview of the congress—it concerns the constitution. He goes on to the point by point consideration of the current session's agenda.

At 0734 GMT Laptev reads a proposal from Burlatskiy to include the activities of the Supreme Soviet leadership among those that should be assessed by the Supreme Soviet session.

At 0735 GMT Alksnis says that those who have been arrested should be given the opportunity to speak.

Laptev puts to a vote putting the assessment item on the agenda in its extended form: 436 vote in favor, 7 vote against, 15 abstain.

Next Deputy Sazonov proposes that individual parliamentary groups should also have their activities assessed.

A deputy recalls the concept of a deputy's immunity and says this principle must not be infringed.

Laptev says the item stands as it is.

Other items of the agenda are accepted without debate.

At 0743 GMT the final item on the agenda is formation of a commission to oversee the investigation of the behavior of those who have violated the Constitution of the USSR.

A deputy calls for an interparliamentary group to be formed to investigate the coup.

Laptev says we can form a parliamentary group and it can grow into an interparliamentary group as it works with groups of other parliaments.

Laptev puts it to the vote: that a parliamentary group to investigate the causes of the coup should be formed and that it will work with other parliamentary groups: 449 vote in favor, 6 against, 8 abstain.

At 0749 GMT Deputy Lopatin prposes that the word attempted should be deleted from the agenda in reference to the coup. It was more than an attempted coup; it was carried out. Laptev puts the proposed change to a vote: 248 vote in favor, 62 vote against, and 95 abstain. The amendment is adopted, Laptev says.

At 0752 GMT a deputy from the floor talks about the legal distinction between an attempted crime and a crime that has been committed.

Laptev then gives details of the voting: the Soviet of the Union adopted the change; the Soviet of Nationalities did not. Should we vote again?

At 0753 GMT further points are made from the floor.

At 0755 GMT the camera shows Lukyanov seated among the deputies

At 0757 GMT Laptev proposes a vote on voting again. Another deputy raises a procedural point. Further points are made from the floor. Voskoboynikov asks: Are we not undermining the investigation bodies with these arguments?

Nishanov suggests consultation with the chairman of one of the procedural committees and Laptev on the formulation of this point.

At 0800 GMT a deputy proposes the word "report" should be deleted and replaced with "president's account." Laptev puts it to a vote: 465 vote in favor, 1 vote against, and 8 abstain. The change is adopted.

At 0802 GMT Deputy Yusupov proposes an addition to the agenda.

At 0803 GMT Deputy Martirosyan says Laptev is fully qualified to conduct the session. He spoke to him on the 19th and he voiced his opposition to the coup. Let's make ending the bloodshed our priority. Laptev thanks him for the remark, but says let's stick to the agenda.

At 0806 GMT a deputy from the floor questions the number of deputies present and suggests telegrams be sent bringing in the absentees.

Laptev reports that not counting members of the Supreme Soviet there are 443 deputies, and so including members of the supreme soviet there are 955 deputies present.

At 0807 GMT Deputy Vladislavtev proposes Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev as the country's next vice president, and Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze as the next foreign minister.

Laptev says they should wait for the president's reaction to that proposal.

At 0811 GMT a deputy says we must have an additional item on the agenda: the need to create a press organ for the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Tseplyayev objects: all press organs, without exception, must be independent. We have our official record to report proceedings and we need no more than that. Sobchak supports Tseplyayev's position, but says we should have an item on the agenda calling for the immediate reorganization of the apparatus of the Supreme Soviet.

At 0815 GMT Laptev proposes a vote on the issue of setting up a parliamentary herald type record.

Deputy Goncharov calls for the coming congress to be asked to consider the question of dissolving the Supreme Soviet.

Deputy Umalatova asks Laptev, in view of his complaints earlier about the inactivity of the Supreme Soviet during the days of the coup, what he actually did himself. Laptev says this will be covered under the agenda.

Another deputy says the Latvian deputies want the issue of Latvia's independence to be considered at the session.

At 0822 GMT Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the commission for the supervision of the constitution, takes the floor and proposes that a group should consider the proposals that have been made and allocate them to their appropriate competent bodies. He proposes that a declaration of human rights be adopted. On the question of self-dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, this is a matter for the conscience of each person individually.

At 0828 GMT Laptev puts to a vote the proposal to include on the agenda the need to urgently reorganize the apparatus of the USSR Supreme Soviet: 403 vote in favor, 2 vote against, and 41 abstain.

Sergeyev then proposes that a special committee be formed to analyze all proposals from a legal point of view and decide which of them can be put on the agenda for immediate solution and which cannot? A deputy from the floor calls for all deputies to be able to speak on this. We don't want any more committees controlling the activities of the Supreme Soviet. Let the Supreme Soviet take to the Congress a package of documents saying what the Supreme Soviet should be like and who should be in it.

Alekseyev returns to the microphone in support of his proposal, which he says is aimed at getting down to work.

At 0836 GMT Alekseyev says it was certainly a coup politically and ethically. Whether or not it was juridically a coup can only be determined by the competent bodies after proper investigation. The wording is therefore correct politically. Whether or not it is legally correct remains to be seen.

At 0837 GMT a deputy says there is no conflict.

At 0841 GMT Laptev reads out Lukanov's statement about the accusations made against him and his resignation from the chairmanship, as follows:

"To the USSR Supreme Soivet: Because of the accusations leveled against me, which I resolutely reject, I consider it impossible for me to remain at the present time in my post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I ask you to ensure that these accusations are investigated painstakingly and without prejudice and that my human dignity is protected in a lawful way. I sent a similar request to the USSR president on 22 August 1991. A. Lukyanov, 24 august 1991."

At 0842 GMT Laptev gives Yevgeniy Yevtushenko the floor. Yevtushenko calls for USSR Procurator General Trubin to be excluded from conducting the investigation into the coup because he did not immediately condemn the conspirators. Yevtushenko expresses no confidence in Trubin and calls for a vote on the matter. Yevtushenko recognizes that the Supreme Soviet cannot decide the question of the Baltic republics' independence, but it can at least express its view. It must be on the agenda: the Supreme Soviet must express a recommendation.

At 0848 GMT Deputy Koryakin recalls his three days in the White House and the direct unity with the people that he felt there. In that atmosphere everyone becomes better. Voters must calmly ask each deputy at every level what he did to save them during those three days and how he acted. The people's deputies should give accounts of themselves to the people at the Congress and these should be published.

At 0855 GMT Metropolitan Pitirim takes the floor. He says they must talk as long as they need, but must also remember that there are practical things to be done as well and the world is watching. Let us intensify our practical work. If we all want to express our views let us do it in commissions. But, we must tell the people that we are in place. Everyone must be in his place.

At 0858 GMT Laptev draws attention to appeals that have been received from deputies complaining of a drift away from the agenda. Laptev says this evening they will make arrangements to lay flowers on the graves of those who died. Laptev praises what has been done by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and proposes that a group should be formed to draw up an address to that Supreme Soviet.

At 0900 GMT Laptev declares a thirty-minute interval.

Laptev, in the chair, asks deputies to sit in their usual seats. He says he now wants to give the floor to the head of the session secretariat.

At 0938 GMT a member of the secretariat explains to deputies the procedure for requesting to speak. She explains a propposed procedure for compiling the lists of those who are to speak, where priority is given to the leaders of committees and commissions. She says this procedure ought to be adopted to avoid turning the session into a talking shop. By 0900 GMT 72 requests to speak had been received, but some of them did not indicate the item on the agenda on which they wished to speak.

At 0943 GMT Laptev proposes stopping work on the agenda, but leaving it open for the inclusion of additional items. He puts this idea to a vote, but no vote is taken. He invites deputies to register. According to the panel, 470 register.

At 0946 Laptev invites Gorbachev to take the floor. Gorbachev then speaks. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 27 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Gorbachev's speech.]

At 1022 GMT, after the conclusion of Gorbachev's speech, Laptev invites Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov to take the floor, which he does.

At 1036 GMT Khasbulatov ends his speech and Aksar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, takes the rostrum.

At 1048 GMT Akayev concludes his speech and Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the constitution supervision committee, takes the rostrum.

At 1101 GMT Laptev announces an interval of two hours' duration.

At 1303 GMT the live relay resumes. The cameras show the scene in the session hall. Bells ring. Laptev asks the deputies to sit down. He says Rafik Nishanov will chair tomorrow's session. The secretariat asks people wanting to speak to mention the point on which they want to speak.

Laptev announces that the Supreme Soviet has received an appeal from Patriarch Aleksiy II. Laptev proceeds to read it out. Aleksiy blesses the work of the Supreme Soviet and prays that wisdom and a dispassionate discussion of matters will prevail. The message says: "The supreme soviet of the union can count upon people's trust only if it acknowledges all the seriousness and irreversibility of the changes which have taken place. And these changes mean, in particular, that the present Supreme Soviet with its present functions no longer has a future and it is acting as a kind of transitional body and can only help the union toward the new treaty, to the new state structure, to the new elections."

The Aleksiy II message continues: "From the very first day, the Russian Orthodox Church did not recognize the legality of the so- called State Committee for the State of the Emergency. On the day of the coup, which symbolically coincided with the day of the transfiguration of Christ, we changed the ceremony of the prayer in such a way that those who knew the symbolism of the divine service understood that the Church did not recognize the newly declared powers or laws which were implementing their will in a warlike way."

The message continues: "On the night of 20-21 August, during the hours of the greatest threat to the Russian Supreme Soviet when reports came about the movement of tanks toward the parliament, I had to deliver a sharp condemnation of the armed violence. Unfortunately, other positions were taken by some clergy as well. But nevertheless, the plenitude of the Russian Church was unequivocally on the side of law and freedom, which, in this case, surprisingly coincided."

At 1309 GMT a deputy asks who compiles the list of deputies who are going to speak. The deputy wants to know if he can speak in place of Kugultinov.

At 1310 GMT Nursultan Nazarbayev takes the floor to speak. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 27 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Nazarbayev's speech.]

At 1318 GMT Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, takes the floor. She speaks of the bitter experience of troops in Baku. The events of January 1990 have still not been properly investigated. Not one directive of the coup committee was implemented in Azerbaijan. She praises Yeltsin's and Nazarbayev's initiative in proposing to mediate between Azerbaijan and Armenia. People in Nagorno-Karabakh wait for peace. Disarmament of Armenia's illegal armed formations is a prerequisite for peace. We are confident that the changes taking place in Russia will provide a new impetus for changes throughout the country and in Azerbaijan. In conclusion Azerbaijan's president and Supreme Soviet will do everything to take democratization in the republic further. We will move forward with the other republics upon a confederative basis.

At 1326 GMT Deputy Sokolov says Sergey Alekseyev's committee should have come out more clearly against the coup. He blames the coup on the half-hearted measures aimed at bringing in the market and economic reform. Enterprises must be able to sell their output freely. Otherwise, we will just return to the old system. Sokolov proposes that the session should discuss the issue of putting all enterprises onto a freetrade basis, with each producer free to sell his goods for the maximum benefit. The CPSU should be put on trial in the same way that the Nazi party was put on trial in Nuremburg.

AT 1329 GMT Shaymiyev, president of Tatarstan is invited to take the floor. He says that following the defeat of the putsch we look forward to democratic processes. He expresses concern over the attempts by certain individuals and the press media to whip up the situation around Tatarstan. Shaymiyev cannot understand why people want to whip up unhealthy passions against the republic's leadership in Tatarstan. He blames the media and protests against what has been said on radio and television. He stresses that Tatarstan seeks to sign the Union treaty as an independent participant. And he thanks Yeltsin and Khasbulatov for having enhanced the status of the Tatarstan delegation. We must all make efforts to preserve mutual understanding and friendship. In conclusion, he says that the people is tired of politicking.

1336 GMT Ter-Petrosyan, Armenia's President, takes the floor. He says: "Esteemed deputies! Esteemed guests! I have come up to the rostrum in order to make a short statement. In my opinion—I note this with regret—we are going away from the main problem of the moment. The main problem of the moment is the failure to evaluate what happened, not the consequences. But the main problem of the moment is the fate of the center, the fate of union bodies of power. In my opinion, the center, as a result of the coup, has had its day entirely. The center is dead, the center has committed suicide. And now, to renominate that dead entity means reconstructing the danger of that catastrophe which occurred. From the mood of the Supreme Soviet and from debates, I have formed the impression that the Supreme Soviet is not ready to discuss, to seriously discuss that problem. Therefore, therefore, I am postponing my address. I will speak at the Congress. Than you for your attention."

At 1339 GMT Comrade Shcherbak takes the floor. He speaks of Ukrainian independence. He outlines the measures that have been taken to implement the independence of the Ukraine. He criticizes the Party in the Ukraine. A note expressing support for the coup was

discovered on Party premises there. He calls for an investigation of deputies who have trampled on the Constitution. He criticizes the leaderships of Ukrainian public bodies for not coming our sooner against the coup. He expresses thanks to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for saving the country from the coup. We want to strengthen friendly relations with Russia. The approach to the union treaty must be completely revised.

At 1348 GMT Deputy Oborok from Moldova takes the floor. The coup was opposed throughout Moldova from the very start. It didn't tremble during the hour of misfortune. Radio amateurs linked Radio 3-Anna and others to spread the news throughout the western USSR and abroad. There was a mass meeting in Kishinev at which people chanted Rossiya, Yeltsin, Gorbachev. Yet you in the Supreme Soviet preferred to believe Blokhin, Kogan, and Alksnis. In conclusion he says that the spirit of reaction exists in this hall.

At 1356 GMT Deputy Shcherbakov takes the floor. He speaks about efforts made during the early days of the coup to frustrate it. The Supreme Soviet must answer the question: Why did the putsch take place? It was because of the profound crisis in which the country finds itself, because of weak leadership. All of this led to a group of apparatchiks thinking that it could save the people by a coup. The organizers of the putsch gambled on getting mass support from people who are deprived. But they forgot that the people and society now are different. There must be a new union government of national concord. There must be careful preparation for new elections of a Congress and president. There must be a round table of democratic organizations. Immediate work must be done to prepare food and power supplies for the coming winter. The people have a right to know who is doing this work. The people have to be made the real master of enterprises.

At 1405 GMT Deputy Plotnikov takes the floor. He says much has been said about the wait-and-see attitude taken by the Supreme Soviet leadership. Plotnikov says the Supreme Soviet did in fact prepare to discuss this issue. He speaks about a meeting on 24 August which called for the dismissal of Deputy (?Tsybukh). Plotnikov reads out a statement to Gorbachev proposing that last year's decrees on the KGB's Kalugin should be cancelled. And he addresses the country's young people: It was the young who were the first to come to the defense of the White House. Our young people deserve to be thanked for the actions that led to the defense of democracy.

At 1410 GMT Oleynik takes the floor. He agrees with the president and with Yakovlev that the putsch was doomed. In this context the CPSU Central Committee and part of its secretariat displayed their inadequacy. The party has always consisted of two parts: the top stratum which spoke in the name of everyone; and everyone else who has done the work. Lukyanov should have convened a Congress immediately without wasting time. All of this should be investigated by the competent bodies. For my own part I bear moral responsibility, he says. I think I should resign. Now a word to the victors. Beware of those who seek to associate themselves with you.

At 1418 GMT Kuzmin speak, of hopes and fears felt by millions in the past few days. He recalls Pavlov's request for extra powers—an attempted coup in itself—and the reaction of the Supreme Soviet Some deputies were able to prevent this happening. He raises the question of Gorbachev's personal responsibility for the coup. The president is a changed man since the meeting with Russian deputies and the initiative group. The president has become unrecognizable. He has done things too late and put the country in a difficult position which it is now too late to get out of. Our session is present at the funeral of the empire which was created over the decades. What should we do with our union? I think new elections for a new president of a new Supreme Soviet will be impossible, for nobody will elect anyone. I think we can believe the president, that he will continue to be as active as before. I want to appeal to the republic leaders not to renounce the Supreme Soviet structure just like that. It would be wrong to restrict ourselves to condemnations. the Supreme Soviet must be disbanded. I want to raise the question of the rotation of deputies in the Supreme Soviet. Difficult times lie ahead. A treaty between the republics on defense, ecology, and a united economic area will probably be signed.

At 1428 GMT Deputy Blokhin takes the floor. He says: The country awaits an assessment of the coup events from the Supreme Soviet. The introduction of a state of emergency was unexpected for members of the deputy corps. But in the first days of the coup, it was not possible for us to assess the coup because information was limited. But now we can say it was unconstitutional and illegal. That is clear now. We appeal to the Supreme Soviet for decisions to be made which will prohibit such events recurring. I agree with Sobchak that a committee must be elected representing all groups in the auditorium and I would like all deputies involved in the putsch to speak from the rostrum to say why they took part in it and what they did. We support the calls for the creation of a committee under Silayev. The mass media calls are reminiscent of the witch-hunts of the 1930's and there are fears in this hall about that as well.

Blokhin continues: It is unnatural to begin the contruction of a law-governed state by persecutions. People's deputies are being arrested, in particular in Moldova and the Baltic republics but this must be done according to the law. I appeal to the international community not to allow events to take a tragic turn in our country. I hope the Supreme Soviet will remain the center of well-considered decisions.

At 1437 GMT various deputies take the floor. One complains of disorder at the Supreme Soviet and another complains that he has been wanting to speak since morning, but still has not had an opportunity.

At 1438 GMT Deputy Sobchak takes the floor. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 27 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the text of Sobchak's speech.]

At 1453 GMT Deputy Boyars takes the floor. He says Rubiks has been arrested. He then comments on Blokhin's address and asks that the deputy's mandate of Blokhin, Kogan, and Alksnis be suspended until their role in the coup is made clear by the investigation.

At 1456 GMT an unidentified deputy warns that dictatorship may take different forms.

At 1457 GMT Deputy Miroshin takes the floor. He says the question of instituting criminal proceedings against Lukyanov must be decided today. Miroshin calls for Ruptsov to be removed from the Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat.

At 1459 GMT Laptev says: "An investigation is underway. As far as we know, Comrade Lukyanov has been interrogated. The interrogation was carried out by the procurator's office of the Russian Federation. The procurator's office will make its proposals on that account and we will adopt them and examine them on a legal basis."

At 1502 GMT Deputy Kogan speaks about political arrests in the Baltics and criticizes the statement made by Boyars. He denies allegations that the Soyuz group participated in the coup and undertook anti-constitutional measures.

At 1504 GMT an unidentified deputy says Lukyanov should address the Supreme Soviet and explain why actions were not taken.

At 1505 GMT Laptev says this issue is ready to be considered.

At 1505 GMT an unidentified deputy in army uniform says Soyuz did not participate in the coup and would like to see the evidence of those who claim that it did.

At 1505 GMT Deputy Krayko complains about not being allocated time to speak.

At 1506 GMT Laptev speaks on procedural matters concerning applications to speak.

At 1506 GMT an unidentified deputy asks why Karimov has not spoken since the Uzbek government supported the State Committee for the State of the Emergency. He apologizes on behalf of the Uzbek Republic.

At 1507 GMT Deputy Moshnyaga speaks in support of Deputy Miroshin, stating that the leadership of the Supreme Soviet should have called a session of the Supreme Soviet in opposition to the coup.

At 1509 GMT Deputy Vyucheyskiy quotes an interview which Alksnis gave during the coup during which he expressed support from the Committee.

At 1512 GMT Deputy Namazova requests that specific named deputies be allowed to speak.

At 1512 GMT Deputy Umarkhodzhayev makes a number of proposals, including that Lukyanov speak.

At 1514 GMT an unidentified deputy claims the Uzbek leadership was in India during the coup and stresses the independence of the republic. He says it is not true that they collaborated.

At 1515 GMT Deputy Zaslavskiy says the Supreme Soviet is wasting time. It is discussing its own role and indulging in mutual accusations instead of the situation in the country.

At 1516 GMT Laptev reads out a note from the legislation committee on procedural matters concerning the publication of proposals.

At 1516 GMT Deputy Umalatova asks if the Supreme Soviet is now a punitive body and calls for the witch-hunt to end.

At 1517 GMT Deputy Arutunyan criticizes Lukyanov, stating that he has destroyed the Supreme Soviet's prestige and calling for him to be officially dismissed today.

At 1521 GMT Deputy Kiselev takes the rostrum to give the proposals drawn up by a group of deputies to which he belongs. The group has drawn up a draft decision expressing non-confidence in Lukyanov and asking Lukyanov to resign as a deputy. A new chairman is to be elected. The Supreme Soviet must decide whether an investigation should take place. Laptev is given the text of the draft decision.

At 1524 GMT An unidentified deputy states that he agrees with the decision apart from the section on election of a new chairman. Another unidentified deputy states that Lukyanov cannot be dismissed without being given a chance to speak.

At 1526 GMT Deputy Smirnov alleges that it is not necessary to allow Lukyanov to speak because everyone who was in Moscow knows perfectly well what his position was. The decision needs to be adopted urgently.

At 1527 GMT Deputy Medvedev speaks about the danger of misinformation. Deputies do not have the right to decide whether other deputies will speak truthfully. It is for the country to decide on hearing the speeches.

At 1528 GMT Deputy Shapovalenko criticizes the slowness of proceedings. An unidentified deputy calls for Lukyanov to speak.

At 1530 GMT Laptev proposes that the draft decision be copied and distributed among deputies before discussion continues. He reads out a question received by the Presidium from Deputy Ryabchenko about the actions of the constitutional surveillance committee containing a request that Sergey Alekseyev give explanations.

At 1533 GMT Laptev announces those who are to speak tomorrow: Volkov, Martirosyan, Lisitskiy, Shapovalenko, Minasbekyan, Igityan, Yetylen, Kiselev, and Bunich.

At 1534 GMT An unidentified deputy calls from the floor for deputies to stay, they cannot leave without a decision being made. Laptev says it has already been decided that they will finish discussion of Kiselev's draft decision tomorrow.

At 1530 GMT the Supreme Soviet session concludes and the live relay ends.

Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1839 GMT on 26 August carries a recording of the late evening sitting of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session on 26 August—at which the first two speakers were not shown on the Moscow Television version for technical reasons.

At 1839 GMT session chairman Laptev points out that it had been decided to continue the session now, at 2030 local time. No decision has been made on the Lukyanov issue. Either discussion of the Gorbachev report could continue, or the Lukyanov question could be dealt with.

At 1844 GMT an unidentified deputy calls for registration by name; Laptev asks just Supreme Soviet members to register.

An unidentified deputy then says that the dismissal of Lukyanov was a matter for the Congress of People's Deputies; the only issue the Supreme Soviet could deal with was to confirm Lukyanov's suspension from chairing sessions. We must be careful not to usurp the role of the courts.

At 1852 GMT an unidentified deputy calls for the session to go by the agenda. Another unidentified deputy says: We must look at structures, not personalities. Deputy (?Yudin) says the voters have to see that the discussion was serious. another deputy says there had to be a legal and political assessment.

Deputy Obolenskiy proposes the session should last two hours.

At 1859 GMT Deputy Levashov warns against haste.

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 2056 GMT on 26 August carries the recording of the late evening sitting of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session on 26 August.

The session is chaired by Laptev, flanked by Nishanov. Registration shows 394 deputies present. The recording begins with discussion of a draft resolution temporarily suspending Lukyanov from his duties as chairman, with a number of deputies giving their views from the floor.

At 2124 GMT Lukyanov takes the rostrum briefly to explain his position.

Further discussion revolves around who should manage the Supreme Soviet Secretariat, which was resolved with a consensus that the heads of the two chambers, Laptev and Nishanov, would share responsibility. After further wrangling over the wording and punctuation of the resolution on suspending Lukyanov, it was eventually passed, with 366 voting for, seven against, and six abstaining.

Laptev then raises the issue of forming a drafting commission to prepare a draft resolution on Gorbachev's report. After various proposals on its composition, a resolution is passed confirming the commission. After reading out a list of 10 deputies who wished to address the session in a personal capacity, as opposed to representing factions, Laptev declared the session closed until 1000 [0700 GMT] tomorrow.

Atmosphere 'Tense'

PM2708083091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[S. Chugayev and V. Shchepotkin report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Extraordinary Session. Parliament Too Returns to Different Country. Mikhail Gorbachev Admits His Mistakes. Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies To Start 2 September"]

[Excerpts] I. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, declared the extraordinary session of the country's parliament open in the Kremlin at 1000 on 26 August. [passage omitted]

I. Laptev, who chaired the first sitting of the extraordinary session, quite obvously found things difficult. It was hard to recall such numbers of people ever filling the auditorium and corridors of a parliamentary session before. It has been calculated that almost 1,000 people's deputies took part in the session. There was even a fear that there would not be enough room in the auditorium. Long-unseen deputies from the Baltic and other republics were glimpsed among the participants in the sitting. [passage omitted]

The chairman was clearly nervous and never managed to control the situation. Many deputies clearly took his advice to be more active and less obedient too literally. The atmosphere in the auditorium at times became too tense, which was viewed with notable irony by A. Lukyanov, who was this time in his ordinary deputy's seat in the auditorium. Ultimately, S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, was forced to call on his colleagues to be more constructive.

The first conclusion can already be drawn from the debate: The session will not be easy and one should hardly expect unanimous approval of the decisions put forward by the presidium. Judging by the rejoinders from Deputies L. Sukhov, V. Alksnis, and S. Umalatova, a certain group of deputies—above all, the "Soyuz" group—have their own views of the events which have been and are taking place.

Among the problems worrying the deputies is what has long been the painful topic of the Supreme Soviet's own print organ. Having learned of IZVESTIYA's independence, some people's deputies considered it necessary to raise at the session the question of organizing their own parliamentary publication. [passage omitted]

The session continues.

Alekseyev Address

LD2808003291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1048 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Address by Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Consitutional Compliance Committee, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear friends, it is absolutely right that, at this moment in time, we are concentrating our attention on specific individuals, investigating how people conducted themselves at the moment of truth, when a choice had to be made. To me, for example, it is now absolutely clear and obvious who is who in our Committee. I now know which members, averting their eyes, did not show up on 19 August, the very day when their presence was needed, or on 20 August. I also know who adopted the statement which set out clearly the constitutional position on the deeds being committed, even though nothing was clear at that time; there were only the official statements and tanks rumbling past our windows. However, I think that we should also be focusing on something else at the moment, on some fundamental and crucial problems. In my view, there are three of these.

First is the problem of our system. We must realize that all these coups, the abuse of power, the generals with their dachas, and all the other nightmarish things stem from the system of war communism and leftist radicalism based on the secret police and army. It is no coincidence that the coup was executed on 19 August. A treaty which would have decentralized power was on the point of being concluded. The treaty had already defined the postulates of deideologized, democratic authority exercised by the Soviets. We must be very mindful that until this nightmarish, immoral system becomes a thing of the past, to be replaced by a different system, a rule-of-law, civilian society, we will constantly live under the sword of Damocles which these terrible things represent.

The second thing which I want to talk about is power itself, not just the mechanism of power which Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke about and to which I will return. I want to talk about the principle of power, above all power inseparably linked to ownership. I want to speak quite categorically about something which has been addressed many times by speakers on this podium and raised in the press.

As long as there is monopoly and unrestricted state property, so authoritarian power will continue to exist for such unrestricted monopoly on property assumes the coercion to so-called discipline and order and, consequently, the principle of lawlessness and arbitrariness. There is something else, too. One must see the quality of power, too, see that there is power which is enshrined in civilized, collectivized bodies. There is also power which relies upon the secret police and upon the armed forces. It is, I think, the unhappy curse of our country that for a long time, for 70 years, we lived under the sort of power that relies upon the KGB, that relies upon the army. It is not a question of whether a good or bad leader is put at the head of these bodies, I reckon: What matters is that these bodies, the heads of these bodies, merging with the party apparatus, themselves make up the foundation of this power. I, therefore, believe that our session will be failing in its duty if it fails to adopt a number of decisions: There are three such decisions, which to some extent follow from what the country's president has already said. First and foremost, in my view, we must put an absolute ban on involving the armed forces in settling political issues, and we must put forward a special decision on this. We must put an absolute and unconditional ban on taking the armed forces and their equipment into our towns and villages and onto the streets unconditionally and without any exceptions whatsoever. The second suggestion—I would like to continue what the president was saying here: Not only should the armed units of the KGB be transferred to the army now, but I think that border troops should also be transferred to the Defense Ministry. Finally, I put forward the suggestion to dissolve completely the State Security Committee...[interrupted by applause] and to replace that committee with an intelligence service administration [upravleniye po razvedki] and an administration for protecting government institutions. That's the lot! [applause]

Finally, the third problem I would like to deal with is this: We must admit that, for 70 years, we lived in an atmosphere of deceit and falsification, deceit which was embodied in state organs and institutions. We talked of our country being a federation when it wasn't. We referred to judicial tyranny as law. Bodies which did not really dispense justice were referred to as courts.

Unfortunately, the committee for supervising the constitution, the body which I was chosen to head, was also drawn into this system of state-sponsored deceit, and I cannot describe it any other way. During the drafting of the bill, in the press I stated quite clearly on numerous occasions that the committee would not be able to do any supervision, that it did not have any powers or rights to exercise this supervision. This, in my view, was done for form's sake, to divert attention, to find a whipping boy, something which was skated over a bit in one of the two previous speeches. In actual fact, it was a somewhat watered-down constitutional court without any powers. It operated in a collegial fashion. Therefore, there had to be a quorum for any decision. What's more, these decisions could not change anything unless they concerned human rights. That is what the law said.

However, we did manage to accomplish a few things. Maybe you are aware of this, even though, frankly, news of our work was hushed up to a considerable extent. We issued a judgment in which we stated that secret actions were unconstitutional. We issued a statement in which we said that the armed forces should not be used to resolve political questions. After the Baltic events, we revoked clauses in the rules which allowed party bodies to take command of military units. But, we did this, to a certain extent, at our own risk, citing international documents as justification, sometimes drawing criticism from official bodies.

The modest step we took before noon on the first day of the coup was not envisaged under the law, either. I categorically reject those suggestions that our statement contained a hint of compromise with the junta. There wasn't the slightest hint of such a thing. It was a juridical evaluation and approach to those positions. It was, as many people have told me, the first suggestion from union structures that there was still hope that the Constitution and legality could be adhered to.

Nevertheless, this organ was unable to do anything because of its restricted powers, because of the law which set it up. Therefore, I believe that resolute changes are now needed. I believe they should be the following:

First, a genuine constitutional court should be set up immediately, as soon as possible, and the constitutional supervision committee should be abolished altogether alongside with our partisan, so to speak, activities.

Second, a special department, subordinated to the parliament, should be set up. It will be quite a small department protecting the Constitution. It will also have the right to suspend all the activities which pose a threat to constitutional system.

Third, the order and norm should be introduced. This is similar to what the country's president was saying, in accordance with which the parliament will have to deal immediately with any issue if it represents a threat to the constitutional system. We must hold our meetings on our own initiative, get together without any summons if something happens during the recess. Let's be sincere and honest. Did we not sense such a danger last September, when airborne troops were brought closer to dig potatoes? We ignored it. Did we not sense this danger in January coming from the Baltic republics? We adopted some decisions abolishing some statutes of the regulations. The parliament ignored it. When it became noticeable that one can get away with it, one can get away with it, then what happened happened? As an overall conclusion, I would like say that I support the fact that it is necessary to conclude the union treaty as soon as possible. Moreover, I think—it is my opinion, naturally—it will have to be discussed, that having worked out the union treaty and having adopted a declaration on human rights we should actually turn them into the country's Constitution so that we do not drag it out and so that we do not go into long procedures connected with the examination of all these issues. The last thing I suggest is that the Supreme Soviet examine the following draft—so far, I have just sketched it—a draft resolution to ensure that democratic transformations continue and that the USSR's highest legislative bodies participate positively in those transformations side by side with this departization and other measures outlined in the decrees.

First, a working committee led by Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev should be formed within the Supreme Soviet. He behaved himself with dignity in those days. It should consist of deputies whose candidatures should be agreed with all democratic factions and who will deal with tackling current issues within the Supreme Soviet and issues of the preparations for the Congress.

Second, it should be suggested to all officials initially elected by the Supreme Soviet that they should resign.

Third, invite all officials elected or appointed by the congress of people's deputies, with the exception of the president of the country, for continuity of power, to suspend their activities and temporarily to carry out their work functions by agreement with the president and with the working committee and table a similar proposal at the congress of people's deputies. I, for my part, already submit such a proposal for resignation. If outside the framework of the already proposed resolution, if that resolution is passed and the members of the committee for constitutional supervision resign, I, nonetheless, ask that the Supreme Soviet should positively note Comrades Peskodin, Boskholov, Mirzoyev, and Filomonov, who acquitted themselves with courage on 19 August. Thank you.

Khasbulatov: Transform Ministries

LD2708125591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1022 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, at extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed president, esteemed deputies, Presidium: Three August days have shaken our country and, to put it bluntly, have shaken the world. The right-wing, conservative coup d'etat is a fact. That is how Russia's Supreme Soviet described the events of those tragic days. However, in the statement by the Constitutional Compliance Committee, even the full, uncut version, we saw—at any rate, as far as we ourselves are concerned—some elements of compromise with the junta. It disappointed us, as did many other decisions, incidentally. [applause]

Of course, it is clear today that we must not let ourselves be carried away by the euphoria of victory or, equally, by a feeling of vengeance toward officials, organizations, and public figures. Indeed, we have rejected and do reject anything like the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In fact, if you take a rather broader, close look, there is no sign of it anywhere in this country

or in the Russian structures of power and administration. That is obvious. Why? Because we are fully aware that today, in the very specific conditions which have emerged, it is necessary to direct the immense creative forces that are appearing in our self-liberating society toward positive activity, and primarily toward the most radical economic reforms.

Reactionary forces have definitely not yet been crushed, by the way. There must be no dreams or illusions here. All that has been crushed is their visible, central command. The plot itself was undoubtedly organized in depth; plots and coups d'etat of that sort are not staged in a single day or a single week, but over many months. This is perfectly obvious. We must not be lulled by any victory drums. There are no victories. We have beaten off only the most cynical, overt, militarized, aggressive attack on the reforms being implemented. So, while that central command and the conservative—not conservative, rather, but reactionary—forces are in a state of disorganization, we need to take swift steps in economic reform.

It is clear that the central area for these reforms must be agriculture. Until now these reforms have been held back by the Starodubtsevs of this world and their chairmen and directors' lobby in the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation—the so-called Peasants' Union, where there was not a single peasant in sight, incidentally. We must at last give peasants the opportunity freely to leave collective and state farms and to obtain land, equipment, fertilizers, and everything that they need for the productive cultivation of peasant farms. [applause] There must be full recognition of the principle of private property. We need to rehabilitate this principle, as it operates in the whole world, the whole civilized world. [applause] And we must not try to get around it just with some shamefaced semi-recognition. We will hardly achieve any progress if we take that road.

Of course, we will be unable to do anything without modernizing our industry. The crisis will grow and deepen. In this regard, esteemed deputies, I should like to draw your attention to one feature of Russian economic policy. We have been talking constantly, for at least a year, about the need to transfer industry on the territory of the Russian Federation to Russian jurisdiction, but we have not meant by that the transfer of enterprises from subordination to Union ministries to the control of the Russian republic's ministries. Of course not.

What we mean is a qualitatively different approach, which is to transform the enterprises of Union ministries into fully independent firms, whose activities are regulated only by tax legislation. That is one aspect. The other aspect of our approach is that these changes should be made in such a way as to make it advantageous for Western firms to participate in these firms and in modernizing them, expanding their output, improving their service, and so on. The correct policy for converting the military- industrial complex is especially important here. Until now it has been held back strongly by the Doguzhiyevs, Baklanovs, and Maslyukovs of this world and a great many like them. The parliaments need to take this most important, strategic sector of industry under their control. Here, too, it is necessary to create advantageous opportunities for foreign firms.

Regarding the strengthening of the financial, credit, and banking system, a central element in this strengthening, this process of putting the system in order, is to teach the state to live according to its means. Consequently, there must be merciless cuts in the state apparatus and in the enormous number of parasitic structures in the central apparatus, including the structures of the Defense Ministry and the KGB. There must be a substantial reduction in the Defense Ministry budget—somewhere around 50 billion rubles this year already, according to our estimates. I should like to point out, to avoid any speculative interpretations surrounding these thoughts, that I am not thinking of any reduction in expenditure on Armed Forces personnel. I am referring to cutting spending on the arms race; meaning, among other things, expensive new programs, including aircraft carriers and many other items of which many deputies sitting here are well aware.

Incidentally, it is impossible to make the unit of currency convertible in any state—not just a socialist one—that not live according to its means. This is an axiom familiar even to every one of the 360 states belonging to the second Holy Roman Empire. The only people who have been and remain ignorant of it are our premiers and bankers—the Pavlovs, Orlovs, Gerashchenkos, and many others.

Now, for the issue of our attitude to the Union treaty. Russia's Supreme Soviet views this treaty in many respects through the prism of her unity and indivisibility. Unity and indivisibility are the internal characteristics of any state. Consequently, in order for a state to exist as a state, it must possess two features: unity and indivisibility. This issue is now acquiring particular importance for us; this has always been the case, incidentally. Russia's Supreme Soviet has approved it, as you know, with a number of reservations. Some amendments arise objectively as a consequence of the coup d'etat that was staged. In our opinion, all this work, including its signing, could be completed this September.

On this I am fully in agreement with the country's president. Our parliament is positively inclined toward this. We will undoubtedly discuss the Union treaty at the session opening on 19 September. The process of discussion is under way now. As I have said, some minor amendments may be introduced, but this is a question of cleaning up the document. After all, we have to start with the premise that this is not so much a juridical document as a political one. If we approach it as a juridical document, we will never be able to elaborate it and sign it. We have to start from the premise that it is a political

document that will form a basis for the drafting of appropriate juridical or legal documents, among them a constitution.

For this reason, we consider that favorable conditions now exist for it to be signed and for a positive continuation of the Novo- Ogarevo process, so we unquestionably have to take advantage of those conditions. Moreover, we - and here I mean Russia—intend to sign the document as a unified state delegation. Naturally, within that unified state delegation there will be delegations representing the republics making up the RSFSR. We rule out any other form of signing it. There should be no illusions or doubts about that. As has often been the case, those leaders of our republics—let me repeat, so that there might be no blaze of righteous anger from the Union republics, that here I mean our Russian republics—who made the loudest declarations of all about sovereignty were the quickest to bow to the usurper and the thief, thereby betraying the one who had done so much to raise these worthless people to power.

In general, there is an immense lesson for us to study, even from the position of morality and the way this is linked to politics and the activities of high-ranking and not so high-ranking officials at the center and in the localities. We intend unhesitatingly to dissolve those supreme soviets of our republics that tarnished themselves by cooperating with the traitors, and we will resolutely remove from office any individuals in the republics who took a stand of collaboration and appeasement with the coup conspirators, irrespective of which republic it might be—Tatarstan, Chechen- Ingush, or North Ossetia. In this connection, it would be desirable for the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium to know precisely the line of behavior and action of Union deputies in the republics, oblasts, and krays so that they might give prompt permission to investigative bodies for bringing to criminal account those responsible for cooperation with the state criminals. This is all the more important since in many of the oblasts, krays, and republics of Russia the mafia controlling retailing has been flourishing magnificently thanks to being closely bound up with those very structures of administration. In such a context, it is our view that for us, too, a special role falls to monitoring the Russian parliament in its designation of senior officials both in central and local Russian administration. Moreover, these people have enormous experience in adapting. Whatever the circumstances, they never lose out; rather, they gather to themselves all jobs, titles, and influence. The bureaucratisation of our government structures has reached its apogee, and that includes in the Russian setting.

I am not idealizing our administrative system at all. We must see it realistically and not give ourselves up to illusions of victory. Painstaking, huge, and at times thankless constructive work lies ahead of us, but realistically orientated toward the concerns of our people, tormented by socialism and communism.

I am almost finished. You know, Mikhail Sergeyevich has just spoken about the activities of the KGB and the necessity of its reorganization. This is all correct. But six months ago, the idea was proposed by us, by myself, about the need for a law to be adopted on the inadmissibility of secret information activities by state employees, officials, and deputies, together with the secret services. I think that we will succeed in adopting such a law in the Russian parliament. When this idea was proposed, deputies were to a great extent seized with terror. The idea was left hanging in the air. I think that it would be useful at a Union level, too, but we will undoubtedly adopt such a law in our republican parliament.

All the same, the scale of such information work by state employees has, in my opinion, become excessive in our society. This is completely abnormal in any normal state.

Of course, respected colleagues, I do not know what you think, but we consider that among the idealogical inspirations for this coup d'etat, alongside the leading party structures, are others. The Russian newspapers carry a preliminary analysis and reports have been made at the Supreme Soviet. We consider among such to be parliamentary organizations such as Soyuz and its branch in the Russian parliament [applause] Otechestvo [Fatherland], to a significant extent the Rossiya group, and many deputies from the bloc of communists of Russia. In any case, I propose that for our Supreme Soviet, the Russian one, for our congress, this should be a subject for thorough analysis. Why? Because we have had too much bitter experience and we do not intend to allow anything similar to happen again in the future.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Kyrgyz President: Revise Union Treaty

LD2708135991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by Kyrgyz President Aksar Akayev at the 26 August session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Comrade deputies: Taken in psychological cross-section, history has amazing standards. The crowd streaming into the victors' camp, sweeping aside all in its path. A spectacle in which the voices of those who fought for progress, those who fought against progress, and those philistines with whose silent consent the first and second groups killed each other, are all merging to form a united choir, comes into view.

We observed something similar at the beginning of our session today. At this extremely difficult time for our motherland, we cannot tolerate such a spectacle here in the Union parliament, in the mass media, or in our practical work. May God save us from this. Otherwise, the people will turn away from us. Their patience is not unlimited.

The people have been consistently told in these last few years that democracy is helpless and that democratic authority cannot influence the course of real events. The events of the last week have shown that this is not so at all. It is the so-called democrats who, by their courage and resolute actions, smashed the backbone of totalitarianism. This defeated enemy now appears stupid and weak, but we must clearly understand that it is far from being a paper tiger. If events had turned out differently, the country would have been drenched in blood and, indeed, clamped in handcuffs.

Who barred the way to reaction? Who refused to retreat from the principles of freedom and democracy? Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, and his comrades-in-arms: Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, dozens of oblasts in Russia, and—I am proud to say—our little Kyrgyzstan, where democratic forces are in power. Our republic's commitment to democracy during the coup did not go unnoticed in our country. All this has proved the ability of democracy to exercise power.

The problem lies elsewhere—to decide on the best possible combination of representative authority and strong executive power at all levels of administration. The present system of soviets has become an anachronism, both ideologically and practically. Mayoralties, prefectures, and municipalities, on the other hand, represent the present in world political civilization. Nobody can ignore them. The latest decrees and decisions of the country's president and the enactments adopted in a number of Union republics link the crisis in the party with the provocative role of its leaders in regard to the unconstitutional coup. But I think the roots go much deeper.

The Communist Party in our country has, basically, never been a public association or political party in the generally accepted sense of the words. It was a structure acting over the head of the state and outside the law, which concentrated all power in society in its hands. In reality, it had the military-industrial complex, the Army, and the state security organs under its control. This was an organization that was set up and that functioned along the classical lines of the most reactionary religious orders of the Middle Ages.

Of course, there are thousands and thousands of honest people in the party, but they are not the ones who determined the essence of the party. On Staraya Ploshchad and on Ploshchad Dzerzhinskiy the infernal machine of chauvinism, nationalism, and anti-semitism was set in motion. Many years ago, such a party completely lost the capacity for progressive self-development and became a cancerous tumor on the body of our society. It presented a threat not just to us, but for the whole world community. [applause]

Here is a characteristic trait. For six years, the idea was instilled in the people that it was the party that began perestroyka. However, on the very first day of the coup all the i's were dotted. Perestroyka was attributed by the plotters only to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. That is the truth. It is Gorbachev and Yakovlev who began the great cause of the renewal of our country, a cause without which we could not have won today. Cordial thanks to them for that. This must not be forgotten. Thus, the need for the disbandment of the party as the last bulwark of totalitarianism in the country is apparent. [applause]

The Supreme Soviet of the country, our parliament, also bears a huge responsibility for what happened. The events of these days showed that, as it had been said prophetically, the upper hand had been gained in the party by the majority, which was aggressive toward democratic forces and obedient to the totalitarian structure. The present coup came to a head in the inner recesses of our parliament and was carried out with the silent and timorous accord of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which played the role of a Pontious Pilot while Christ was being crucified. [applause]

How can one fail to recall the hissing, ululation, and baiting to which Sakharov and other progressive deputies were subjected here? There is a Russian proverb that says: The parish is only as good as the priest. I would rephrase it. Applied to our Supreme Soviet, it may be said: The priest is only as good as the parish. I am speaking of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet [applause], the political play acting by Lukyanov [applause]. In his book *The Prince*, Machiavelli, that well-known thinker of the Renaissance era, paints in bright colors an image of a political figure who tramples the moral canons underfoot and who climbs the peak of power over the bodies of his kith and kin and friends, the image of perfidy and hypocrisy.

When you read this, you get a graphic picture of our Anatoliy Ivanovich. [applause] To me and to others as well, it is obvious that our Supreme Soviet no longer has a role to play as the supreme body of state power in the country. It is not capable of carrying out those functions with which it was entrusted by the Constitution. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was justifiably reproached for being intolerably negligent and, perhaps, weak willed in appointing the organizers of the coup to leading posts in the state. The Supreme Soviet, by approving them on majority votes, displayed the same shortcomings, did it not? How is one to judge the Supreme Soviet's obstruction of the Nine-plus-One declaration and, in general, the democratic processes that went on at Novo-Ogarevo? Such a Supreme Soviet ought to dissolve itself. [applause]

As for the Union treaty, it is obvious that the published text of the treaty is unacceptable. It is the result of compromise between two forces: on one hand, the democratic movement and the freedom and independence of sovereign republics, and on the other hand, the center's wish to retain its power. This is a compromise with the partocratic structures of power, which rely on the Army, state security organs, and the military-industrial complex; a compromise with structures that have long existed for the sake of their own private interests and

that are often alien to the interests of the republics. These are the structures that brought about the unconstitutional coup. Such a compromise is no longer compatible with the honor and dignity of the republics as sovereign states. The Republic of Kyrgyzstan rejects this compromise and considers that a fundamental revision of the treaty's text is needed to strengthen the powers and interests of Union republics in a decisive way.

In addition to the Union treaty, we must draft and sign agreements without which the treaty will not work. In particular, it is vitally necessary to have an agreement on military questions, which will settle the future of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, strategic armaments, and the Army as a whole. An agreement on the borders between republics is no less important. It must be clear to everybody that attempts to redraw borders between republics, attempts to violate the status quo in this issue, can only have one consequence—the death of completely innocent people, chaos, and destruction.

I am convinced that we must also sign an agreement on guarantees for the interests and rights of national minorities in the sovereign states making up the Union. These people should not have to associate the creation of a renewed Union with the loss of some kind of guarantees of their security, or be worried or perplexed by this.

I am finishing. The last thing about which I would like to speak is that civilization has developed two main forms of regulating social behavior—the law and morality. In recent times we have begun to turn frequently to the law, but in our state activity, morality remains consigned by us, as in the past, to oblivion. We are continuing to cultivate politics with etiquette and power, but without morality. Surely it is clear that we can only get out of that deep crisis in which we are all living today once we start to profess lasting universal values, once we profess daily moral principles and norms in state activity.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Ter-Petrosyan: Center 'Committed Suicide'

NC2708100591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Text" of statement by Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan at the emergency session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 26 August—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, Deputies and guests: I took the rostrum to make a brief announcement. In my view, and I note this with dismay, we are evading the main problem of the moment. The principal problem at present is not the passing of judgment on what happened and its consequences, but the fate of the center and the Union organs of power. I think that as a result of the coup, the center spent itself. The center is now dead. It has committed suicide. To resurrect that dead body now would mean to renew the danger of that disaster reoccurring. I got the impression from the sentiments and speeches made at the Supreme Soviet that the Supreme Soviet is not ready to seriously examine this problem. Therefore, I am postponing my speech to the Congress of People's Deputies. Thank you for your attention.

Kyrgyz President Interviewed on Union Treaty

LD2608191291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Kyrgyzstan President Aksar Akayev by correspondent Yevgeniy Zherebenkov at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow; first graf is correspondent's introduction—recorded]

[Text] [Zherebenkov] The coup attempted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency plotters inflicted upon the country damage comparable only to that of Chernobyl. The most destructive blow was perhaps that dealt to the accord which seemed to have been reached between the republics in regard to the Union treaty. Now, to judge by the speeches at the session, the republics are taking a much more cautious line in regard both to the center and to the Union treaty. Some republics are insisting on new conditions for the treaty, while nothing would induce others to be lured into that Union. Well, much will depend upon what the new Union will be like, I think. I talked to President Aksar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan about this. Aksar Akayevich, following these tragic events, have you changed your attitude, your approach, to the Union treaty?

[Akayev] Yes, of course. I was not satisfied, and I thought the last draft of the Union treaty was a compromise between the republics aspiring to freedom and sovereignty, to real sovereignty, and the center, which was relying upon the military industrial complex, upon the army, upon the State Security Committee. Even the compromise reached did not suit them. They wanted to retain the unitary structure of our state. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, the chairman of our country's Supreme Soviet, was a clear mouthpiece of these tendencies; he participated in all sittings devoted to preparing the draft Union treaty, and yet at the last sitting he had his say and supported signing it. Yet after this, how can one fail to regard his statement of 18 August as other than a signal, a theoretical basis, a platform for the outburst of this junta, this group that embarked upon the counter-constitutional, rather, the anticonstitutional coup. I am quite sure that he was the ideological inspiration for this coup, because he was the first to oppose the rapprochement betweeen the leaders of the union republics and the country's president, Gorbachev; he was a rabid opponent even of the compromise variant of the draft Union treaty which gave the Union republics limited opportunities.

Now, when these forces have been removed, I do not think the draft can be signed in that form, and we should of course expand in it the rights and opportunities of the union republics.

[Zherebenkov] On which principles will the new Union treaty be built, and what republican rights should primarily be expanded? Perhaps some new ones should be introduced into the provisions of the treaty?

[Akayev] The last draft Union treaty was, I think, built upon the principles of federalism. Although this was declared, nevertheless anyone who reads the draft Union treaty attentively will see that it opens up the opportunity of a confederation. Many of the principles of a confederative structure for our union are enshrined in it. I said at the very beginning that our future union should be a synthesis of all the principles of both federalism and confederalism, and that it would be possible to adopt it on the principle of a community. Then I am convinced that we would preserve in our future Union all 15 former Union republics. But what changes must be introduced now? I think that without fail, in the final part of it - a huge role is of course given allotted there to the USSR Government, to the state structures which are above the republican ones, and which operate not in the interests of the people but in their own interests. There are a lot of different courts which I think should be united into one. And I do not think that the country's government needs a cabinet of ministers at all: What is needed is, as President Gorbachev suggested today, an inter-republican economic committee.

All the political leadership should of course be concentrated in the hands of the country's president. We have no objections to this. A fourth power has emerged, as I have said, the USSR Procuracy. You understand, the revision of the draft should be such as to restrict all these central bodies which are a legacy of the past, which we just cannot get free of, and of which the future Union has no need, absolutely no need at all. It is here that I see the expansion of the rights of the Union republics coming about of its own accord: If we clear aside these unnecessary, invented bodies of power.

Alekseyev Blames CPSU for Coup in Interview

LD2608095591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Committee for Compliance With the Constitution, called the CPSU leadership "the plot's main figure."

Sergey Alekseyev added in an interview with a TASS correspondent, given today in the corridors of the session of the country's parliament, that "the court will decide who specifically is to blame for the coup attempt. I, as a lawyer, can say nothing at the present moment."

Answering the question on the position taken by TASS during the days of the coup, Sergey Alekseyev revealed that on 19 August "he tried to have the statement by the USSR Committee for Compliance With the Constitution published. He spoke to the TASS leadership on the telephone, asking that the publication not be blocked."

Having stressed that TASS assisted "the only trickle of truth to get through on the first day of the coup," Sergey Alekseyev stated that this "has instilled hope in people." At the same time, the chairman of the country's parliamentary committee said that, in transmitting the statement via the channels of TASS, cuts were made. He declined to elaborate on whose initiative this happened. "Our staff member was at TASS," Sergey Alekseyev explained, adding that he was given the choice of either having the document published in a shortened version or having censorship not allow it through. "We were forced to agree," Sergey Alekseyev noted. "At least a small voice of truth got through," he stressed. Replying to a question on immediate measures that must be taken to prevent repetition of anticonstitutional coups in the country, Alekseyev reported that he "intends to speak at the session on this issue and does not want to anticipate events."

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Republic Leaders Discuss 'Crisis'

LD2708150191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1329 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] TASS reported today on the meeting of Presidents Gorbachev of the USSR, Yeltsin of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Nazarbayev of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, and Akayev of Kyrgyzstan. The meeting was attended by Aleksandr Yakovlev. Opinions were exchanged on immediate measures for getting the country out of the crisis after the suppression of the anti-state coup. The participants reaffirmed their adherence to the Novo-Ogarevo process and expressed hope that the soonest possible signing of the Union treaty, with necessary revisions dictated by the new situation in the country, would serve the cause of political stability and open up broad possibilities for the unhindered carrying out of reforms, the creation of a unified market, and the concluding of economic agreements among all 15 sovereign states.

During the conversation, serious doubt was expressed about the advisability of forming separate national armies, with the exception of the possible forming of small units of a National Guard. Such an approach is dictated by the fact that the Soviet Union is a nuclear power. The president of the RSFSR particularly emphasized that territorial issues with Russia might emerge only in the case of the withdrawal from the Soviet Union of any state contiguous with Russia.

Agree 'Armed Forces Must Be United'

LD2708213491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by unidentified correspondent at the USSR Supreme Soviet

session in Moscow on 27 August; from the "Vesti" newscast; first paragraph is an introduction by the announcer—recorded]

[Text] Unlike the deputies, the journalists accredited at the Supreme Soviet have lost interest in the question: Where were you 19-22 August? They tormented the participants of the session with questions about the future of the USSR. Today, Gorbachev was the reporters' choicest victim. He was very cautious in his assessments:

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] what Yeltsin said on controversial territorial questions was a move poorly thought out. What is your comment on Yeltsin's step?

[Gorbachev] I will put it this way: All the statements and decisions, on the one hand, and speeches—or to be more precise, statements on these issues by the Russian leadership—represent a kind of debate and dialogue. I do not think they can be seen as the final position of the parties concerned. Furthermore, if you have noticed, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's statement opens—at least, according to his representative—it opens with words about the Union. Boris Nikolayevich...[changes thought] Today I met and talked to Boris Nikolayevich, with Nazarbayev, with Akayev. We compared our views and had a conversation. We all hold the view that the union must be preserved, that the Armed Forces must be united, and that there is a need for a single economic area. Otherwise, it would be a calamity for all of us. Incidentally, that is our common view. In a word, I think what is under way is simply a process of understanding the situation. In this very crucial situation, emotions are inevitable, and sometimes in speculating about the way events develop, it would be premature and reckless to perceive the dialogue under way—even if it is in the form of statements, speeches and stands—as issues resolved.

[Correspondent] What is your position on diplomatic [word indistinct] with the Baltic countries. What is your comment on this?

[Gorbachev] I think everyone is in a hurry. [Video shows Gorbachev in the foyer of a conference hall, surrounded by a number of reporters]

Gorbachev Says Union Disintegration Talk 'Hasty'

OW2708170091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has dismissed as "hasty" the supposition that the USSR may soon disintegrate or begin developing according to the "Balkan scenario." In his brief address to newsmen during an interval in the USSR Supreme Soviet session he said calls for the Soviet Union's division had been accompanied by increasingly vocal calls for its preservation as a single country. "More and more politicians have been warning that the full disintegration of the Union, including its military structures, may be a source of big trouble," Gorbachev said.

TASS on Center-Russia-Republics Relations

LD2708124391 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS World Service observer Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Will the Soviet Union be a single state or maybe the recent opposition between republics and the centre be replaced by that between republics and Russia?

The dramatic events of August 18-21 have made the Soviet Union "another country", according to Mikhail Gorbachev, but they also created a new situation in the republics, and induced a "wave of acts of independence".

It is clear that the draft union treaty agreed upon by nine republics and the Soviet president in Novo-Ogarevo, which was to be signed on August 20, has become outdated. The first day of work of the Soviet parliament's extraordinary session has shown that some representatives of the nine openly favoured making the future union a confederation of independent republics with a comparatively weak centre.

During the coup, Estonia and Latvia followed Lithuania's example, declaring full independence. But the Baltic republics have long been considered lost and did not take part in the Novo-Ogarevo process. Later, the Ukraine and Belorussia followed with their independence declarations.

In his speech in the Soviet parliament on Monday, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev openly favoured a union which would be a confederation of republics with a relatively weak centre and an economic agreement between all 15 republics.

Nazarbayev outlined future relations between republics and the centre, as he sees them, where the centre has less powers than was planned before.

The idea of a confederation was supported by Azerbaijani parliament head Elmira Kafarova and the leaders of Central Asian republics. Armenian parliament leader Levon Ter-Petrosyan refused to address the parliament, saying the "centre is dead".

The creation of a confederation of independent republics poses a number of complex questions, primarily nuclear weapons and border disputes between republics. Another problem arises—relations between Russia and eight republics.

Some observers believe the "epidemic of independence acts" resulted from the growing role of Russia in the Union, rather than the abortive coup.

Addressing the Soviet parliament today, People's Deputy Vladimir Volkov from Sverdlovsk said the "putsch has not been foiled. They have resolved the main task, wrecking the signing of a Union Treaty. Republics are afraid of being 'younger brothers'. Unfortunately, there were grounds for this".

People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak on Monday expressed concern about the fact that independence of republics often conceals the "wish to retain old communist structures". He said it is necessary to liquidate elements, which hampered reforms and only then all peoples will have the right to independence.

Sobchak denounced both Nazarbayev's proposals and calls by some Russian deputies to transfer some powers from the union to the Russian parliament and leadership.

Practically, Russia is currently the main supporter of signing the Union Treaty, wishing to use economic levers for this. An Estonian deputy today said he feared "economic war between independent republics".

The Russian president's spokesman on Monday made a statement on behalf of Boris Yeltsin, saying the Russian federation retains the right to discuss revising borders.

11 More Arrested in Putsch Investigation

LD2808093291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Deputy Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation, Yevgeniy Lisov, who heads the group investigating the criminal case of the so-called State of Emergency Committee, said that 11 people had been arrested and assistant chief of the guards service of the USSR State Security Committee (Genyiradhov) has been detained.

He said that most of them were morally prepared for an arrest and accepted it as being inevitable.

Former Prime Minister Pavlov for instance has been describing in detail how the coup was planned and carried out.

State Bank Suspends All CPSU Accounts

LD2708190991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1752 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 27 Aug [TASS]—According to information at the disposal of the USSR State Bank, the CPSU Central Committee, party organizations and institutions dependent on them invest their funds in various joint-stock companies, joint enterprises, commercial banks, and other commercial structures. These funds, the statement by the USSR State Bank indicates, were formed mainly from the membership dues of rank-and-file CPSU members or from the use of state property.

In accordance with the USSR president's decree "On the property of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," the soviets of people's deputies are to take over CPSU property for safekeeping, and issues pertaining to its further use will be decided in strict accordance with the laws of the USSR and the republics.

To prevent the concealment of party funds from the people, an instruction has been issued by the USSR State Bank to suspend operations on the accounts of CPSU organizations and institutions dependent on them.

Ministers Deny Speaking in Support of Coup

PM2708155691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Belikov feature: "Once More About the Cabinet of Ministers' Session That Monday"]

[Text] The previous edition of IZVESTIYA published notes on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session on Monday evening 19 August at the height of the putsch. The notes belong to USSR Minister N. Vorontsov and were obtained by the editorial office from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers apparatus before the newspaper was published. M. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with Russian people's deputies during which the country's president familiarized people's deputies, on B. Yeltsin's instructions, with the contents of these notes was relayed on television shortly thereafter.

There immediately followed at the session a verbal statement by USSR Minister S. Khadzhiyev, who said that he had not taken part in the cabinet session and could not therefore have said the things that had been attributed to him. The editorial office received clarification 24 August from the author of the notes—for the name Khadzhiyev, read Churilov. The editorial office also began to receive statements from other participants in this session refuting the published text.

We give them the floor.

K. Katushev: The published text does not match what I said. I said that the introduction of a state of emergency and the inevitable ensuing severing of foreign trade ties will put our economy in a very difficult position. I also objected to the claim in the statement issued by the State Committee for the State of Emergency that we will escape from the grave crisis by our own efforts alone.

V. Orlov: I was only present at the session for a few minutes since I had to meet a group of Swiss bankers at the time. I only had time to inform the session that Gerashchenko (USSR State Bank) and I were sending a cable to the localities demanding that they rigorously carry out the law on the Union budget.

L. Davletova: I did not back the outlined extraordinary measures, saying that the center had already adopted many contradictory decisions that were unpopular with the people. I drew the attention of those present to the very grave position of light industry.

M. Timoshishin: I said that the republics' resources must be centralized immediately and previous decisions implemented vigorously, making it possible to rectify the country's very grave food situation. Why are we slow in publishing the presidential decree that has been prepared on this matter? Some regions may find themselves without bread if we drag things out any longer.

N. Vorontsov: Your newspaper published someone's distorted text of my notes. The true text has been reproduced in Friday's edition of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

V. Gusev: I drew the attention of everyone present to the tremendous economic danger inherent in disrupting the production cycle in our sector. I said nothing about the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

L. Matyukhin, USSR minister of railways: Speaking at the cabinet session I clearly voiced the idea that in the prevailing highly acute situation where many cities are literally supplied with food "hand to mouth," any disruption in the work of railroad transport will inevitably have catastrophic consequences.

I gave no support for the actions taken by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency.

B. Panyukov: Before the beginning of the session on the evening of 19 August I already had some idea of what was to be discussed. My very brief statement only said one thing—we must not arbitrarily interfere in the activity of air transport, which is already malfunctioning due to constant shortages of equipment and fuel.

V. Doguzhiyev: The material cited in IZVESTIYA regarding the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session does not accord with the truth insofar as my statement is concerned. I did not support the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

The IZVESTIYA editorial office has also received written statements. We cite these texts:

"During USSR President Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with RSFSR people's deputies 23 August Mikhail Sergeyevich said that ministers from the defense complex had not spoken at the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session 19 August. In his rejoinder Russian President Comrade B.N. Yeltsin said that they had a meeting with V.S. Pavlov on this subject before the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session.

"We state that we had no meetings with Comrade V.S. Pavlov on the subject of the events of 19 August.

"Our conscience is clear.

"[Signed] B.M. Belousov, minister of the USSR Defense Industry, and O.N. Shishkin, minister of general machine building."

V. Smirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Commission for the Utilization of Airspace and Air Traffic Control:

"In the atmosphere of the session Comrade Shcherbakov's speech conveyed his clear rejection of the policy pursued by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. In this connection I consider the account of the record of Comrade Shcherbakov's speech given at the meeting with Russian people's deputies to be inaccurate, to put it mildly."

From the Editorial Office: In publishing these statements, we are not assuming the responsibility of claiming that they contain the absolute truth. The same applies to the article in the previous edition that provoked these statements. An objective investigation, if it is carried out, will establish the truth. It is a newspaper's business to provide the maximum information and reflect all viewpoints, which is what we have tried to do.

Vnukovo Workers Demand Management's Resignation

LD2808094591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The strike committee of the Moscow Vnukovo airport have demanded the resignation of its management. The head of the committee, Yuriy Belonov, said that in the days of the coup the management of the airport organized the departure of the coup leaders to the Crimea, though orders were already given to (?detain them). If the management is not dismissed the strike committee has declared a 24-hour warning strike on Thursday [29 August].

Trubin Defends Tenure as Procurator General

LD2708204591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Everyone today is perhaps trying to glean in the flood of news information relating to the progress of the inquiry into the activities of the putschists. Some people have already been arrested, and some even committed suicide, preempting a summons for interrogation. The investigation is under way. Perhaps you have noticed that some defendants—Starodubtsev, for instance—have clearly expressed their desire in an interview with Vesti that their affairs should be conducted by the union procuracy. The fact in itself proves nothing, yet it is thought provoking.

What is USSR Procurator General Trubin's view on this sort of trust:

[Begin Trubin recording] I think that they would have been disappointed because the union procuracy, along with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic procuracy, has also begun its own set of arrests. [end recording]

At yesterday's session, Yevtushenko expressed his mistrust of the country's procurator general, as a person who has, according to him, tripped up on many occasions. Today, our correspondent asked Trubin about how he feels about this mistrust:

[Begin Trubin recording] I am not trying to hold on to my post. I am prepared to abandon it, and I will tell the Supreme Soviet this. However, I would not like to leave my post with my name having been rolled in mud. I believe that if our state is to be law abiding, we must be prudent and sort things out in a considered fashion. I have been working in this post for only eight months. The Supreme Soviet could form a deputy inspectorate group consisting of lawyers, with both law theorists and law practicioners among them, to evaluate my personal performance as procurator general and to see whether it complies with the law and the judicial system. [end recording]

Churkin New Foreign Ministry Press Center Head

LD2708135691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1334 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 27 Aug (TASS)—The Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry reports that as of 27 August the leadership of the ministry entrusts the duties of head of the USSR Foreign Ministry press center to Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate.

KGB Alfa Squad Refused to Storm 'White House'

LD2708120991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—During the attempted coup d'etat, the USSR KGB's "Alfa" group refused to comply with an order from the coup plotters to storm the White House. A TASS correspondent was informed about this today by Mikhail Golovatov and Sergey Goncharov, respectively current chief and deputy chief of the group.

In accordance with instructions from the USSR president, the "Alfa" group is now subordinate to him personally, or, should he be incapacitated, to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president. Prior to the attempted coup, the group took its orders from the KGB chairman and was an integral part of the KGB's Seventh Directorate.

"Alfa" group has numerous and various operations to its credit, such as freeing children and hostages and disarming armed criminals. By deciding not to take orders from the putschists, the people of "Alfa" group have proved that they are skilled and intelligent and have the country's interests at heart.

According to Mikhail Golovatov, who was then deputy chief of the group, on Sunday, 18 August, the "Alfa" combat readiness state was raised. On 19 August, then chief of the "Alfa" group, Viktor Karpukhin, announced preparations to seize the White House, the RSFSR House of Soviets. In operational parlance, said Mikhail Golovatov, the group was to commence preparations to go into action. It was to assess the conditions under which they would have to operate and glean detailed information about the opposing side. The White House was to be taken by force at 0300 on the night of 20 August.

When the order was received, Sergey Goncharov said, we immediately asked who it came from, since we knew that "Alfa" group head Karpukhin was the liaison. We were told that it was a "government order," and these words were repeated twice. When we asked what government, we got the same answer: This is a "government order and the assault is in three hours' time." The group's main task was to get into the White House and take the building.

We knew, Mikhail Golovatov related, that there was an armed group of about 500 in the building. If the operation started, it would probably lead to a lot of bloodshed. Those who had given the order hoped that the "Alfa" group would carry it out to the end. To start with, he said, we were simply flabbergasted by this order. The present commanders of the group were sitting together when the order was received, and immediately decided not to carry it out, although they well knew what the consequences of that might be. Then they gathered the subunit heads and asked them to give their reaction to the order. To the credit of our colleagues, they declared that they would not carry out the order because it was illegal. Then they were given instructions to gather the staff of the "Alfa" group, inform them of the order, and ask the opinion of each and what decision they would make for themselves. Within 20 minutes they had all gathered and unanimously declared that the whole "Alfa" group would not carry out the order. The deputy group commanders stated in turn that "they would not lead them."

From this moment, said Mikhail Golovatov, we knew that the group was on our side. Each man made his grave and difficult choice. This was, after all, a refusal to obey an order. For servicemen, especially of our unit, this was unprecedented. Nothing like this had ever happened throughout the existence of "Alpha" group, set up in 1974. At the time, he noted, we were under constant pressure from the then chief of the group, who was demanding that we obey the order. Firearms and ammunition had already been issued to the men. We knew the layout of the offices in the White House, and we knew the RSFSR presidential bodyguards who we would be up against. All that was left to do was climb into our vehicles and take up positions to begin the operation.

Storming the building would have meant the beginning of combat operations. This could have led to terrible bloodshed, said group chief Golovatov. The group had the requisite training, while the defenders of the White House, as we found out later, would have stood their

ground to the bitter end. But they would not have been a match for professionals. To put it bluntly, he noted, we could have done the job within 20 to 30 minutes. The White House would have been taken over, with all the ensuing consequences.

We consider, the "Alpha" commanders stressed, that our refusal to carry out this unlawful order saved the country from civil war. Had "Alpha" started to storm the White House, military actions would have immediately started between Army units on one side and the other.

Speaking of the reasons motivating them to make such a decision, they said that six years of perestroyka had made a great impression on them. A large part of the KGB, if not the bulk of it, did not back the putchists. We decided for ourselves, the two leaders of the "Alpha" group said, that the putsch was over when our personnel made the decision not to fulfill the anticonstitutional order to storm the White House.

Our subdivision, the "Alpha" leaders admitted, took part in the operation to seize the Vilnius television center on the night of 12 to 13 January. The group's task then was to ensure the security of all means of broadcasting until the arrival of the new television staff team. Not a single shot was fired from our side, Sergey Goncharov pointed out. During this operation, the members of the group were armed with automatic weapons loaded with blanks, and with Makarov pistols with 16 live cartridges, bulletproof vests, lamps, and knives.

KGB General Favors Reformed Security Service

PM2708150691 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with KGB spokesman General Aleksandr Karbainov by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] After lengthy and exhausting negotiations we eventually managed to get in by the back door, like KGB agents. General Karbainov gave us to understand that the building was under siege and that we absolutely could not enter. Eventually, after another half hour, the general decided to answer our questions over the telephone, and asked us to enter by the door of the adjacent building and to dial his number from a booth protected by the KGB.

At last he picked up the receiver. "I apologize for all this confusion," he said, "but the situation is as it is and I really do not know how long we will be staying here." General Karbainov did not deny the KGB's responsibilities: "Of course we have our faults and our responsibilities. But we ordinary aides of this committee were dragged into this terrible business by the KGB chiefs, without ever having made any decision, without ever having been consulted, and in many cases without agreeing with the decisions that were being made."

[Cucurnia] Do you mean that the KGB was split? That Kryuchkov was on his own when he planned the coup that was to eliminate Gorbachev?

[Karbainov] No, Kryuchkov was not on his own. There was with him a substantial group that supported him. But this group was not the whole of the KGB.

[Cucurnia] And what about you, General Aleksandr Karbainov, who claim to be pleased with how things have gone, pleased "not so much for myself, but above all for my children, who will live in a better world"? What did you do to express your disagreement, to oppose Kryuchkov's coup?

[Karbainov] I did nothing, I did not say a word against the coup. My heart was as heavy as a stone. It was all so difficult, complicated, terrible. But I lacked the courage.

I carried on doing my job as though nothing had happened. We were trained in accordance with absolute iron discipline, which is partly why I believe many others responded as I did. But now at last I feel fine, whatever may happen.

[Cucurnia] What if the KGB is dissolved and put on trial?

[Karbainov] It is not possible to try thousands of people who did nothing and who were put in this tragic situation against their will. Of course, people no longer trust us. The people no longer have any confidence, and I cannot say that they are wrong. This sad affair has set us back decades and has brought us back to the situation of 1953. [Karbainov ends]

Karbainov has many serious doubts whether the KGB can be entirely eliminated. "You tell me one country that does not have its security services." The real point, he said is that "it is necessary to reform the security committee's structure, accelerate the Russian KGB's opening up, dismantle some of the committee's sections—such as the presidential security service and communications monitoring, for instance—so that the secret police can never again, under any circumstances, take the president hostage. Then," he added, "we will have to start again from scratch." [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Actions During Putsch Viewed

PM2708113491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by V. Nadein: "Many High-Ranking Diplomats Zealously Fulfilled the Putschists' Demands"]

[Text] A few hours before M. Gorbachev signed the decree relieving A. Bessmertnykh of his duties as USSR foreign minister, the head of the all-Union foreign policy department held a session of the collegium. Two days after that session, the Foreign Ministry sent TASS a short report according to which A. Bessmertnykh "gave a report on the actions of the ministry and himself as minister during the failed anticonstitutional putsch."

The collegium's decision says that "the USSR Foreign Ministry collective, proceeding from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's critical assessments and drawing serious lessons for itself from these tragic events, is conducting a rigorous analysis of the actions of the central apparatus and foreign institutions during the days of crisis for the country. This work is being carried out at all levels of the ministry's system and will be completed in the very near future and all the necessary practical conclusions will be drawn from it."

Despite its efficient links with foreign institutions, the collegium preferred not to publish concrete facts. In particular there are no commentaries on the promptness with which G. Yanayev's "personal message" was conveyed to U.S. President G. Bush. In that message, the formal leader of the conspirators assured the U.S. President of the unchanging nature of the USSR's foreign policy course and its readiness to fully observe the accords achieved. But the main thing is that he persistently requested support for the new "leadership," averring that the rigid order which the junta vowed to establish in the country will remove all doubts about the Soviet nuclear potential.

The minister asserted at the collegium that he "resolutely rejected from the very outset the conspirators' proposal to join the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency." To all appearances, this restraint, which has still to be verified by investigation, was the top government official's only reaction to the attempted forcible change of the state system in his country. The references to a sudden deterioration in his health which A. Bessmertnykh tried to make during the memorable TV interview 23 August were completely rebutted by those who were on vacation with him.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the speakers at the collegium "resolutely condemned the actions of the organizers of the coup, who tried to restore a totalitarian regime, plunge the country into civil war, and isolate it internationally." Everyone has been talking with enthusiasm about that since the putsch failed.

But to judge not by the words used since the collapse of the junta but by actions from the very first hours of its fleeting rule, the picture is quite depressing.

According to A. Bessmertnykh's story, which he set out at the collegium, the USSR Foreign Ministry leadership "did not cooperate with the State Committee for the State of Emergency and did not carry out the committee's instructions." However, S. Lavrov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's international organizations administration, attests that he managed to acquaint himself personally with the text of the telegram sent on the former minister's instructions to Soviet foreign institutions on the morning of 19 August.

Copies of the telegram, in S. Lavrov's words, were received only by deputy ministers and thus few knew of its existence. According to the information of TASS diplomatic correspondent K. Voytsekhovich, it contained the key phrase: "Be guided by the aforementioned documents in your work."

Being staffed 100 percent by Communists, the Foreign Ministry's foreign institutions fastidiously preserved the most hoary traditions of reverence to ideological dogmas and active expulsion from their ranks of anyone who thought differently. The changes which had taken place in the country were not reflected in the inner life of many embassies. That was where toadying and informing flourished and contempt for "so-called democrats" was cultivated.

After the notorious Article 6 of the constitution was repealed, the party committee of the Soviet Embassy in Washington continued to occupy one of the most spacious premises in the small and overcrowded diplomatic building on 16th Street. The sole change was that the party committee secretary began to be called the ambassador's counselor and was transferred from the party payroll to the state's.

According to the RIA report, "one high-ranking Soviet diplomat attributes the sluggish reaction of certain foreign governments and the temporizing position on day one of the putsch to the unseemly conduct of USSR ambassadors during those days."

This diplomat, speaking anonymously, stated that virtually all the ambassadors and some deputy foreign ministers dutifully conveyed the State Committee for the State of Emergency's message to the leaders of the foreign policy departments and states where they were stationed.

The reaction of the representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, which resolutely condemned the conspirators, was extremely untypical of the USSR Foreign Ministry foreign personnel.

According to the RIA report, the diplomat in question named the following among those particularly zealous in kowtowing to the new "Soviet leadership:" Leonid Zamyatin (Britain), Vladimir Terekhov (Germany), Yuriy Kashlev (Poland), and also Nikolay Uspenskiy, Soviet ambassador to Sweden, a claim which fully coincides with the opinion of M. Zubko, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Stockholm. (A report on this was published in a previous issue of the newspaper).

But even against this background, Yuriy Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to France, distinguished himself by his frenzied activity in favor of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, activity which amazed the French.

Both in France and in the United States a year earlier, Ambassador Dubinin tirelessly proclaimed himself a zealous supporter of democratization and renewal. It took him a matter of minutes to reverse his views.

Last Saturday the ambassador made another resolute although easily predictable action—he hurriedly "handed in his party card," as AFP reports, citing Yu. Dubinin's words.

AFP has a large number of "foreign institutions," although there have never been any party committees in them. Thus it is quite excusable for its correspondents not to know that Ambassador Dubinin was physically unable to "hand in his party card." He does not have one. All party members who go abroad surrender it to the rayon committee for safekeeping.

Explaining his action, Yu. Dubinin, seemingly speaking from the bottom of his heart, said that even without a party card he "remains a firm supporter of the democratic choice and social justice, which are my ideological foundation.... I condemn the party's actions and in particular those of the party leadership during these days."

Even a superficial analysis shows that these impromptu assessments expressed with deep sincerity in front of TV cameras are quotations from President Gorbachev's last speech. The last one to date, of course.

Six months ago at a meeting to bid farewell to the collective of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Ambassador A. Bessmertnykh, who was leaving for Moscow to take up his post as USSR foreign minister, ended his speech with a good joke: "By the way, if anyone doesn't like it here, just drop us a hint and we'll find a place for you in Moscow."

The last thing the diplomats wanted to do was see their homes again and they laughed obediently.

The departyization of embassies, which very few members of Soviet foreign institutions have called for, was not carried out either when E. Shevardnadze was foreign minister or under his successor, A. Bessmertnykh. The ministry's central apparatus fervently supported the ideological unity of overseas cadres. The result was that the "USSR Foreign Ministry hierarchy did not want to tell foreign governments the truth about what is going on in the Soviet Union," RIA reports.

Volskiy, Shcherbakov Behavior Evaluated

914B0323C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by M. Berger and M. Krushinskiy: "From Office to Office... Commentary on Two Press Conferences"]

[Text] At least in one respect these three nightmarish days did us all a useful service. We got to see who stands where. And we made quite a number of curious discoveries. In both "this" direction and "that," so to speak. People taken as individuals, organizations taken separately, and even entire political and economic structures in many cases behaved differently from what many expected. Not everyone could assume, for example, that the Moscow police, including the dreaded OMON [special missions militia detachment] would at a decisive moment reject the function relegated to it as a punitive instrument and rise up in defense of the Constitution!

But let us not rush in drawing conclusions. Time will rightly judge—and fairly soon—who played what role and facilitated what. It will award everyone his full, earned "grade." But even today, against the background of the thickening current of solitary and group declarations expressing devotion to the law and rejection of the criminal junta, it is entirely healthy to glance back into the very recent past and ponder what took place in those hours when the triumph of the law was still not evident.

Journalistic pursuits twice take us back during those hours to Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Scientific-Industrial Union. The first time was on Tuesday, when representatives of business circles gathered in his office on Old Square (a detail to be noted) under a still-hanging portrait of the "ill" president, with the aim of drafting the text of a joint declaration condemning the coup and explaining why the promises of the junta to provide food and heating to the country in short order comprised demagoguery and deceit. The second time—on Wednesday at a press conference, when the putsch was already "running out of wind," and together with the sun peeping through the Moscow air one could smell the sweet aroma of near victory.

Volskiy made a political announcement at that time in front of millions of people—at a press conference (recorded) shown on television. We can certify that he was equally resolute and decisive the day before. But what about the first day of the coup—on Monday?

We will not try to be cunning—it is not from Volskiy that we know that representatives of market structures angrily condemn those who effected the putsch and burn with the desire to show this condemnation in the press. But it is he who at some moment took the initiative to unite these voices into a single voice of protest. And he did so with energy and precision. So at that time, on that dramatic Tuesday, as work was underway on a declaration of businessmen, we felt a strange sensation, as if witnessing the work of some secret political mechanism hidden from the eye of the general public. That is where they phoned from the "White House"—to Volskiy, telling of the assault which was being readied and asking for help. Isn't this strange? In many ways in fact Volskiy was fulfilling the role of mediator between the legal Russian authority and the power usurpers, restraining the latter from murderous decisions.

Nor did the USSR Cabinet of Ministers stand on the sidelines or fail to express its attitude toward what had occurred—it had become a unique "production facility" for GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] personnel, 50 percent of the committee's membership being its representatives. By the end of the day, 21 August, when no one any longer harbored doubts as to the outcome of the putsch, First Vice Premier V.

Shcherbakov called an urgent press conference at which he stated, in particular, that the Cabinet was always guided, is guided, and will continue to be guided by the decisions of organs formed according to legal procedure. It thus follows that we can assume that the GKChP formed by the conspirators was also recognized as legal by the government. That is, the civilian leaders turned out to be more disciplined than the military leaders—who declared their devotion to constitutional authority. In this regard the latter risked their fate and freedom, the former—only their careers.

It is touching, of course, that in the situation which developed, the Cabinet considered its primary task to be stabilization of the economy, ensuring that all the necessities be provided to the economy and the population, and truly we should not forget such things during these days of celebration. But what was in the way of these same people in the less complicated environment of earlier days?

Among the most frequently repeated phrases of V. Shcherbakov are the words "provided disinformation," "led astray," and other expressions of a vindicating nature. Shcherbakov never explains who it is that "disinformed," although this question is raised several times. Premier V. Pavlov was disinformed, his first deputy states, as to the state of health of the USSR president, but the premier himself had no relationship to the plot and took no part in the work of the state-of-emergency committee due to his own state of health. This is difficult to believe, especially when we recall the relatively recent attempts by the head of the government to obtain extraordinary powers from the Union parliament. As we know, these attempts were unsuccessful. But this is all discussion, while here we see the premier's signature on the 18 August declaration of the Soviet leadership together with those of G. Yanayev and O. Baklanov—an accomplished fact, as they say. Moreover, that very same day, at a press conference a few hours earlier at the Scientific-Industrial Union, union president A. Volskiy cited the words of parliament head A. Lukyanov, who related that it was none other than V. Pavlov who convinced him, Lukyanov, to join the GKChP.

V. Shcherbakov himself stated that, like every other ordinary citizen, he found out about what had happened from television reports. We have heard rumors that Shcherbakov was outside the coup (but not totally outside?), that he was just about the only member of the Cabinet leadership who refused to support the decision on introducing the state of emergency. Supporting such a version of events we see the fact that the first vice premier was recently an active proponent of new market structures, and one might draw the conclusion that in building on these he had decided not to cooperate with the new powers. However, Shcherbakov himself refutes this assumption. For almost three days he phoned the acting president and, receiving confirmation from him of what was broadcast over television, he was satisfied. In clarifying his position, he stated that everyone can have his own civic position, but the execution of official duties for an organ of executive power is higher than these feelings.

The events of recent days have shown what should be waived in case of conflict between duty of conscience and official duty, and they also have shown how many of our fellow citizens think and act differently from our first vice premier.

Shcherbakov's News Conference Remarks Questioned

914B0330A Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by political observer V. Golovachev: "Pavlov Knew Nothing? Or 'Forgot?'"]

[Text] **The news conference of First Deputy Premier Shcherbakov, who is being spoken of as a possible candidate for the office of prime minister of the country, left a strange impression.**

For two and a half days and two nights the country was on the rack, as it were. Mortal danger loomed over the fragile democracy and freedom—a group of conspirators, in violation of the Constitution, resolved to seize power in the country and accomplish a coup d'etat. People holding high office took the path of treason. The junta included the vice president of the USSR, the prime minister, the chairman of the KGB, the defense minister, the minister of internal affairs, the first deputy chairman of the Defense Council, and two other small fry.

It seemed to all of them that they had only to replace the president of the USSR (whose popularity had until recently fallen to a low point in the country), and the majority of the regions would unquestioningly submit to the conspirators and that the recalcitrant could be quickly pacified by the Army. The limited abilities and talentlessness of people occupying the key positions in the state were demonstrated particularly strikingly during this attempted putsch. They did not know the people's mood and did not understand the processes occurring in the country. One wonders with bitterness today whether they were at all capable of leading the building of a civilized, free and democratic society.

The putsch failed not only because it was undertaken by untalented people but primarily because of the widespread public opposition to the coup d'etat. I believe that it came as a shock to the conspirators that the vast majority of city and oblast soviets in Russia refused to recognize the junta and that it was not even possible, seemingly, to rely wholly on proven army units.

When the barricades to defend freedom and the president of Russia truly elected by all the people of the republic began to be put up in Moscow and when dozens of mines decided to declare a strike, it became clear that the junta was doomed because it was going against its own people.

It is a pity, of course, that 1 million or 2 million people did not take to the streets of Moscow, but the tens (or, rather, hundreds) of thousands of Muscovites who formed a dense living ring around the "White House" on the embankment, who built the barricades, and who were prepared to give their lives in the name of freedom, proved an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the reactionaries. Day and night there were in the vicinity of the Russian parliament young people and middle-aged people, students, workers, office employees.... At the hour of mortal danger for the motherland women also came in order in a single chain to stand in front of the tanks and armored transport vehicles and not let them pass.

The army will require in time, I believe, a separate story. Of the gold-braided generals who sent out young boys in uniform, our children, against the people, and of the courageous commanders who were unwilling to organize a bloodbath and, what is most important, of the boys who carried the assault rifles.

I spoke with some of them: "My son is your age, would you shoot him and me if you are ordered?" The young man sitting on the armored transport vehicle, which had taken up a position in Pushkin Square directly opposite IZVESTIYA, gave a toothy smile and said: "Don't worry, old man, everything will be all right." And it was not these words but the way he looked at me, his eyes being so serious, anxious and apologetic, as it were, despite the smile, which said: no, he would not shoot. The army in Moscow rapidly "disintegrated." Yes, times are different today, there is not the former fear, the intoxicating air of freedom has changed people. It would not be that easy waging war on one's own people now...

Today the junta has to answer for its crimes and for the blood of the innocent and unarmed people spilled in these tragic days. I have no doubt that the criminals will make a fuss, act the scoundrel, and attempt to heap everything onto one another or onto heaven knows whom.

...Frankly, a bad impression was made on me by the news conference of Shcherbakov, first deputy prime minister of the USSR, in the evening of Wednesday, 21 August. He did not simply shield Pavlov—one of the eight members of the junta. Shcherbakov was virtually in sympathy with him. His explanations evoked profound shame—does the first deputy premier consider everyone a naive nincompoop? According to Shcherbakov, Pavlov was led astray by false information and was told that the president of the USSR was seriously ill and that he had suffered either a heart attack or a stroke and that he was incommunicado. And this being the case, all power would be transferred to the vice president and that the cabinet should, strictly in accordance with the law, carry out his instructions.

But since Shcherbakov so insistently and repeatedly emphasized the importance of compliance with the law, I would like to remind him that the very procedure of the imposition of a state of emergency was illegal and contrary to the Constitution so that the cabinet could, even formally, have expressed its position in this connection.

It was not, I believe, necessary to have been either prime minister or first deputy premier to have understood everything even on 19 August, when Yanayev babbled something unintelligible at the news conference: the president of the USSR was, he said, very tired and he would rest a while and, perhaps, would return to take up his duties... There was, as we recall, no question of any heart attack or stroke. Even if we accept Shcherbakov's version that Pavlov knew nothing, one did not in this case need to be a Solomon to deduce that there was no medical finding on the state of the president's health and that Yanayev was talking stuff and nonsense and was simply unable to explain the need for the urgent imposition of a state of emergency. All this meant just one thing—a coup d'etat. And I would further remind him that in the daytime of 18 August M.S. Gorbachev had been talking with many people, Shcherbakov included. And that same day of 18 August, Yanayev, Pavlov and Baklanov had signed the statement on the imposition of the state of emergency. How does all this tie in?

A journalist asked Shcherbakov at the news conference: "The cabinet has betrayed its president. Does not the entire cabinet intend to resign?"

"The cabinet does not intend to resign," Shcherbakov said with composure. "Were we to resign, the chaos in the country would become irreversible."

You don't say... Recklessness and deception have of late been manifested very distinctly in the activity of Pavlov and the cabinet which he led. Today, when the putsch has failed, the conspirators cannot even, without losing face, answer for their crimes. These people had long since lost themselves, for that matter, and such concepts as dignity and honor do not apply to them.

It is still not clear to Shcherbakov, it would seem, whether the members of the vanquished junta are criminals or not. When a journalist asked what would happen to the criminals, Shcherbakov said quite sharply: "The USSR Supreme Soviet will decide whether they are criminals or not." Formally correct, perhaps, but in terms of conscience, in terms of the laws of morality and ethics?

Shcherbakov read out a government statement. The cabinet, it says, has always been guided and will continue to be guided by the USSR Constitution and the laws of the country. But just two days ago this same cabinet was with the same readiness supporting the junta's anticonstitutional decision on a coup d'etat. People who so rapidly dart from one shore to another must, truly, have a conscience made of rubber. Of course, conscience is a personal matter. But the question arises: Can people with a rubber conscience be members of the government?

Shcherbakov's news conference left a strange, a very strange impression. Listening to him, I was thinking that the present victory over the forces of reaction should not engender a sense of tranquillity. The danger of right-wing coup exists because the conservative forces in the country are real. The reactionaries will not give up their positions that easily. We must be vigilant: There are many people who are prepared, even drowning their own people in blood, to preserve their privileges and their power with the aid of bayonets, assault rifles and concentration camps. They have become silent for a while, but they believe that they will be heard from again.

But they will no longer succeed in turning back history.

Shevardnadze Views Future, Gorbachev Role

PM2708160091 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Aug 91 p 5

[Report by Fiammetta Cucurnia on remarks to Italian journalists by former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on 23 August in Moscow: "'Gorbachev? I Couldn't Say Whether He Has a Future'"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—"I really could not say whether Gorbachev still has a long political career ahead of him. It all depends on what stances the president adopts henceforward, whether they are resolute and courageous, as they need to be, and whether he is able to heed people." Yesterday afternoon, following a private meeting with Liberal Party Secretary Renato Altissimo, who has been on a visit to Moscow since last Thursday, former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze granted an interview to Italian journalists. [passage omitted]

[LA REPUBBLICA] Eduard Ambrosyevich, a few days ago, at the height of the coup, you hinted that Gorbachev might be implicated in the coup d'etat in some way. Do you not believe, in view of what we have heard in recent hours, that a self-criticism is needed?

[Shevardnadze] I never said that. I said that if—and I repeat, if—the president had been implicated in the coup, he too would be a criminal and he too would have to be answerable for it, like the rest. I honestly never believed that this was the case, but it was an issue that existed, and that had to be talked about. For this very reason my colleagues and I asked that Gorbachev be allowed to speak to the people immediately to explain what was happening.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Are you not satisfied with the explanations Gorbachev gave publicly during his first press conference following his return to Moscow?

[Shevardnadze] I certainly am not. I do not want to comment on his assessment of me, when he said that my statements will remain on my conscience and are shameful—but that is a separate matter. It was all very confused. He spoke about messengers sent by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, but he did not say when all this happened, and how exactly things went. He will probably do so in the next few days, and he must do so, because we need to believe him.

[LA REPUBBLICA] What exactly do you think Gorbachev should do?

[Shevardnadze] I do not know, I feel disinclined to make suggestions. The only clear thing is that what we need now are bold, active, and resolute moves. Gorbachev must apply perestroyka to himself because the situation is very complicated.

[LA REPUBBLICA] During Thursday's demonstration some demonstrators called for Gorbachev's resignation from the post of general secretary. Do you consider this necessary?

[Shevardnadze] I have been saying so for some time.

[LA REPUBBLICA] So it is all over. Do you believe that the CPSU can no longer be reformed?

[Shevardnadze] No, it cannot. The Party is seriously ill—finished. People are calling for it to be dismantled and for Gorbachev to leave it. They are not entirely wrong because at the most difficult moments of the coup the communists were silent, said nothing.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the foreign minister who took your place following your resignation, was dismissed today. Do you believe that was a correct decision?

[Shevardnadze] I cannot understand that decision. I cannot understand what he is being accused of. Passiveness? He was on vacation—and sick, moreover! At that rate, several million people should be dismissed.

[LA REPUBBLICA] You know Aleksandr Bessmertnykh very well. What is your personal assessment of him?

[Shevardnadze] I know for certain that he is an honest and decent person, incapable of a shameful act.

[LA REPUBBLICA] If you were asked to take charge of Soviet foreign policy again, would you accept?

[Shevardnadze] No, I do not want to hold any posts. I have other plans.

[LA REPUBBLICA] What do you believe are the prospects for the party you are about to found? How many votes do you expect to win in the next elections?

[Shevardnadze] That will depend on the situation at the time the elections are held. If they were to be held now, I am sure that we would win a great many. Be that as it may, we are working to create a genuine, great party with a strong foundation in foreign and domestic policy. If I did not believe in it, I would not be doing this work. For the present, however, we will confine ourselves to forming a kind of "shadow cabinet" to provide a guarantee of stability in the country.

[LA REPUBBLICA] So, unless we are mistaken, we should expect an outright revolution in the post-coup USSR?

[Shevardnadze] The revolution has already taken place, and it is over. It was won thanks to the courage and resistance of the democratic forces that barred the way to reaction. If it had not been for Yeltsin, Sobchak, and the other democratic leaders, we would have fascism here today, and instead of talking to you here sitting on this couch, I probably would be behind bars. The democrats saved the reforms, and we cannot disregard this now. What we must keep in mind is the need for the left-wing forces to remain united in fighting to the end for the victory of democracy.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Eduard Ambrosyevich, you had been talking about the danger of a coup since last December, when you addressed the Congress to announce your resignation. Do you believe that this risk has now been averted for good?

[Shevardnadze] There is now no longer any threat of a coup d'etat. Here and there there could be minor resurgences, a few sporadic reactionary eruptions, but nothing more.

Prospects for Shevardnadze Return Viewed

OW2708154991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1505 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M.Mayorov and I. Porshnev: "Will Eduard Shevardnadze Return to USSR Foreign Ministry?"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last Sunday saw a meeting of a group of RSFSR People's Deputies who spoke out in favor of the USSR Foreign Ministry being re-entrusted to Eduard Shevardnadze. A similar call came from the current deputy foreign ministers and lower-ranking staff members of the ministry. Yesterday's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, too, welcomed Mr. Shevardnadze's possible comeback.

When DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] reporter asked one of Shevardnadze's aides to comment on the prospect, the aide confirmed that E. Shevardnadze was seen as one of the main candidates for USSR Foreign Minister now. He said, however, that there were many pros and cons which Mr. Shevardnadze would have to consider before taking a final decision, since many factors, largely non-personal, were still unclear. For instance, it was still a question what the new government structures, including the new union government, would be like, and the Soviet Union's future as such was still rather vague. The future pattern of relations between Russia and the center would too have to be clarified.

Asked what E. Shevardnadze himself thought about his possible return to the Foreign Ministry, the aide said he would have ruled out the possibility altogether one day earlier. Mr. Shevardnadze, he said, would have to assess the new government's ability to work in the right direction, and the range of powers he may have as the foreign minister. According to the official, E. Shevardnadze should not be expected to thirst for the ministerial post, since he had gone through it already. The only reason why he could take up the foreign minister's duties again was his care for the nation's welfare. The aide observed that the abortive coup attempt was "children's play" in comparison with the civil war that might break out as a result of the Union's disintegration. He described the present situation as very dangerous and said that E. Shevardnadze "will not be a passive onlooker if he makes sure the new government is efficient enough."

The ex-minister's aide expressed the hope that the new administration would be a government of national trust, and stressed the point that E. Shevardnadze could only enter it as a member of the opposition Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The official said the situation in the USSR Foreign Ministry was no less dangerous, with the staff's morale being very low. "Each new day of uncertainty undermines the Foreign Ministry organizationally and causes staff members to leave. This problem should be tackled without delay," E. Shevardnadze's aide said.

Business Community Actively Opposed Coup Attempt

LD2808082391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Vantage Point" program by Boris Belitskiy]

[Text] It appears that the Soviet Union's fledgling business community by and large took a firm stand against the plotters from the start. Indeed, they contributed vigorously to the defense of the White House where President Boris Yeltsin and the other leaders of the Russian Federation had established their headquarters of resistance to the coup.

Just a few examples: The director general of the business association (Rhythm) managed to get several heavy lorries belonging to his association into Moscow and to add them to the barricades ringing the White House. One of the new commercial banks in Moscow, (Inkombank), brought over a million rubles to the White House in a suitcase to provide the defenders with food and medicines. Practically all the exchanges and commercial banks in the country immediately ceased their operations and many of them provided their faxes and telexes to the opposition to the coup, to replace the communication channels seized by the junta.

The congress of Russia's business community issued a statement condemning the coup as leading to economic disaster for the country, and it certainly would have led to that. During the very first hours of the coup attempt, the official media reported numerous instances of criminal proceedings being instituted against what were described as dealers of the shadow economy. A checking of inventories was announced, which in reality

amounted to the confiscation of business-owned stocks of food and other goods. The idea was to use them to fill the bare shelves of shops, if only for a few days, to win public backing for the coup.

To be sure, while hundreds of young entrepeneurs joined the White House defenses—one of them, by the way, was among the three young people killed by tanks—there were a few who threw in their lot with the conspirators and even sought to exploit the situation, as did the director of the commodity exchange in the city of Khabarovsk. But on the whole, the Soviet business community displayed a striking unity in its opposition to the coup and a political maturity surprising at its age.

Today, following the defeat of the coup, it's determined to make its voice heard in the country's political affairs and in the political decisionmaking process. Indeed, the Interregional Exchange Union, one of the business structures in this country, issued a statement immediately following the coup that contained political as well as economic demands. It called for the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers, the dissolution of state economic structures discredited by collaboration with the junta, and a consistent demonopolisation of the economy. This commitment to moving towards a market economy was, by the way, noted by a group of American money managers who happened to be here in the Soviet Union last week.

The general feeling here in Moscow is that with the reactionary forces now routed, progress in economic reform will quickly gather momentum and business with the West will receive every encouragement. The newspaper IZVESTIYA has even gone so far as to predict an investment boom.

Roy Medvedev Not Ashamed of CPSU Membership

LD2708172991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Roy Medvedev does not intend to leave the CPSU Central Committee because he thinks it can be reformed. This was stated by the historian to a Russian Information Agency correspondent. Socialist ideology is humane in its essence, he said, it is not reactionary. The CPSU will definitely remain, possibly under another name. Roy Medvedev also said that as a communist and a member of the CPSU Central Committee, he has not felt ashamed, and he remain an independent socialist.

Putschists' Demeanor on Arrest Described

PM2708152891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Andrey Zhdankin: "Operation to Seize Putschists"]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] state counselor for legal questions, speaks.

The operation to seize the putschists was conducted with scrupulous observance of all the norms of the law.

Of course, there was a big risk. V. Kryuchkov was also on board the aircraft in which Russian Federation Prime Minister I. Silayev, Vice President A. Rutskoy, and M. Gorbachev were flying. His arrest was carried out through the second exit from the aircraft by way of special steps. He flew in the aircraft from the Crimea to Moscow as a captive. It was necessary to conclude this operation on the ground. The danger lay in the fact that "loyal" units might make an attempt to spring him at Vnukovo. Then attempts to release him while conveying him under guard from the airport to a place of custody were possible. But everything was professionally organized, and this danger was avoided.

I wish to point to the efficient, coordinated actions of the Russian Federation MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the RSFSR KGB, and the Russian general prosecutor. Not only was the seizure of the conspirators—their forcible internment—prepared but the legal basis was worked out to the maximum possible degree. The Russian general prosecutor met the conspirators with all the documents needed for their detention.

It could be seen that Kryuchkov lost control of himself when detained. He could not control his hands or facial expressions or recognize his own things. The man could be seen to be in a state of most profound depression. He said almost nothing. In Moscow he was placed in a minibus apart from the other plotters under a strong guard. A second aircraft landed at Vnukovo at the time Gorbachev was being met. Carrying the remaining conspirators who had flown to the Crimea. Yazov, Baklanov, and Tizyakov were detained at the airport. Baklanov was released after his identity had been established. He gave a written assurance to report to the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office at midday to make a written testimony. And he was released because he has immunity as a USSR people's deputy. I believe that the Union Supreme Soviet session will strip him of his immunity, as well as Starodubtsev.

Yazov behaved more calmly and was in possession of himself, but he was deathly pale. The first thing he requested was assistance for his wife. She is ill. Naturally, assistance was given.

They did not ask for any leniency. Probably the rapid and efficient detention broke their will to resist.

Tizyakov behaved outwardly normally, but you could sense that he was bursting with spite. You got the feeling that he was ready simply to bite and tear to pieces those who were nearby.

They were not handcuffed.

We accompanied them to the end of the "road," to their place of custody. Naturally, each one is being held on his own. This is the iron rule in such situations. Laces, belts, and sharp and pointed objects were removed from them all, including Marshal Yazov. Communication among them is totally ruled out. According to the law, an interrogation may not be conducted before 0700, and so they were allowed to fortify themselves and were left completely alone until 0700.

Mindful of the plotters' age and health, it was necessary to be extremely correct with them—punctilious, if you like. The detainees were at once examined by a physician, in order to document the absence of bruises or traces of beatings or torture and, where necessary, to render first aid.

Certain forces definitely planned to spring them, but everything passed off without excesses. The night helped. An investigative team of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office has been entrusted with conducting an investigation. I can state that they are highly professional investigators.

The detainees were familiarized scrupulously with their rights and obligations, and they were granted the right to have an attorney. I do not know whether they will make use of it. Apparently they will.

Some details. Marshal Yazov was in dress uniform, with all his regalia. Lukyanov appeared the most modest at Vnukovo-2. "The mouse swished its tail and fled"—the state found itself on the brink of disaster.

The KGB is now to be headed, ex officio, by its first deputy. But the president of the Union has to decide who will be appointed. I believe that he is obliged to make these appointments after consulting with the Russian president. Not because it is Yeltsin but because the days of the putsch exposed who among the KGB staffers complied with the constitution and recognized the legitimate power and who sided with the conspirators. Naturally, this must be taken into account when making an appointment. A very serious reorganization of the KGB and the MVD, as well as the USSR Ministry of Defense, incidentally, is needed.

These eight men are not even the tip of the iceberg. The conspiracy has roots. They lie in the structures of the party and state apparatus of the very highest rank. They go down both into the Army and into the KGB and MVD structures. Very specific categories of troops displayed the greatest activeness.

Detailed information can be given only following the results of the investigation.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Editor on Coup

PM2808073491 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA editor Vitaliy Tretyakov: "The Imbeciles' Plot Has Failed"]

[Text] The imbeciles' plot, apparently headed by USSR Vice President Yanayev, has collapsed in an extremely short time. But for two and a half days a huge country with a vast nuclear potential and, consequently, the whole world, were on the edge of the abyss. The list of putschists is revealing—all are members of the CPSU, of its leadership, members of the communist government formed by Gorbachev.

Prime Minister Pavlov, Defense Minister Yazov, Interior Minister Pugo, Baklanov, guardian of the military-industrial complex for the party and the state, and KGB Chairman Kryuchkov. Moreover, there is a hypothesis that Kryuchkov only joined the putschists to ensure that the coup d'etat failed. It must be admitted that the KGB remained neutral and even passive.

The Four Explanations

It is also significant that the staff of our newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which is situated 500 meters from the KGB headquarters, continued to function night and day without any particular problem. Not only was our domestic telephone line not cut off, but our international line was also left, although the newspaper was banned.

But these are details. The important thing is that the putschists secured the blessing of Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. With his statement he in fact supported their seizure of power. Personally, I regard him as a potential dictator. Yanayev, crafty but limited, is merely a puppet—an evil man but a puppet.

Most of the official instigators of the putsch have now been arrested. Pugo has committed suicide, but apparently did not finish the job. According to our information, Pavlov was taken to hospital after two days of fierce struggle against the terror which his own audacity caused him. Lukyanov is at present still at his post although the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium classed him with the putschists in its statement.

Why did this putsch collapse so rapidly despite the enormous combined forces of the army and the militia?

There are several answers. The first consists of saying that it was doomed because an irreversible shift in the direction of democracy had taken place in everybody's thinking, including that of the officers. The second is that the resistance had a leader and symbol—not Gorbachev but Yeltsin. The third explanation is the fear which the putschists felt, for their own actions among other things. Their stupidity is only the fourth explanation. The putschists, in other words those who were at the head of the country until the past few days, were cretins. Hence their inability to understand what was happening in the country and in the world.

But let us turn to a more serious problem, which is particularly relevant today: Does the failure of the putsch automatically mean the victory of intelligent

men? The answer is by no means obvious. As soon as the failure of the putsch was clear, it was the putschists' closest aides who appeared on television where they leveled accusations at those whom they had supported a few hours earlier. Only a minority of democrats were able to find room on the screen.

The Responsibility of the Whole State Apparatus

The CPSU leadership, silent throughout the coup d'etat, is now hastily condemning it.

Finally, Gorbachev himself, who returned to Moscow from the Crimea, said nothing about the strange role played by Lukyanov throughout this affair nor about the demands made by the perpetrators of the coup d'etat.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and other democratic newspapers in the country had written at the time that Yanayev's election to the post of vice president had been rigged, that he was not Gorbachev's friend, but his enemy. That brought us criticism from Gorbachev and from the CPSU leadership. We also wrote a great deal about Pavlov, Pugo, Lukyanov, and those responsible for the military-industrial complex. And that brought us further criticism. But the insults are not the most serious thing.

The problem lies elsewhere. What was obvious for mere journalists ought also to have been obvious to a high-ranking politician. All the politicians were lying, Gorbachev first.

Yes, the country is currently at the peak of the democratic renewal. Russia in particular. But those who brought the country to the brink of disaster are not just the eight putschists. It is the whole apparatus of the party, state, and army. Including the USSR president.

I think that Gorbachev has taken his revenge. He was certainly a victim for three days, and, thanks to that glory he will be able to keep afloat for a time. But Gorbachev now simply serves to personify the restoration of the constitutional structures. The future now belongs to Yeltsin, to those who acted against the putsch. Without that, the intelligent people in this country will not prevail and other idiots will replace those who have just left the stage.

Polls Show Optimism on Interrepublic Relations

OW2808074391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0717 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the "DATA" News Agency, on August 24-25 the National Public Opinion Studies Center took an opinion poll among 1,155 respondents from 14 cities of the Russian Federation. The question it posed was "Do you think relations between the republics will improve after August 19-22 events?"

53% believe relations will improve.

21% said they would remain at the same level.

9% are confident that they will worsen.

16% could not answer.

Margin of error - 3%.

Another question of the poll was "What is your attitude to Mikhail Gorbachev?"

39% expressed sympathy for him.

18% respect him.

22% are indifferent to him.

12% displayed contempt for him.

9% did not answer.

'Vzglyad' Carries Alksnis 20 Aug Coup Statements

LD2708200291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1853 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by announcers Aleksandr Politikovskiy and Vladislav Listyev; from the "Vzglyad" program]

[Text] [Politkovskiy] Hello. [Listyev] Hello. We continue to hope, (?because we are only temporarily back on the air). Today is a short, special edition, but we assume that before 30 August, when there will be the usual full-length edition of "Vzglyad," we will see you again on the air. We have plenty to say and plenty to show you. [Politkovskiy] The three people participating in today's program represent three different positions. We are going to introduce you to the new heroes of the past few days. We hope that today you have been carefully following the progress of the USSR Supreme Soviet session; these items are a way of continuing the debate and helping the USSR people's deputies. It is 20 August, Moscow, and the coup is at its height. Alksnis: [Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Another page from the history of those three days that shook the world. Its hero needs no introduction. [video shows USSR People's Deputy Viktor Alksnis in uniform, speaking to the camera following a brief shot of burned-out buses]

[Alksnis] On the whole, I support this situation, because, although the committee was set up only yesterday, it, already yesterday, it played, performed, its role in history. It postponed the signing of the Union treaty and saved the USSR Constitution. Society is infected with an ideological AIDS—that is, we had, our society had, its immune system, which was based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. When we destroyed this ideology, or rather it fell apart, correspondingly the immune system of our society, that which had been protecting us from-...[changes thought] I mean, society's instinct for self-preservation was activated. Now, it is not there any more. Today, the biggest question of all is to establish a new ideology, on the basis not of the old—that is, Marxism-Leninism—but on something new. I think most promising in this respect is the idea of statehood, so

that every person can regard himself as a citizen of a great country and be proud of the fact that he is a citizen of a great country. We need our own sort of American ideal, only a Soviet ideal, to avoid civil confrontation and civil war, which incidentally is already taking place. I do not exclude that it is possible that blood here, in Moscow, will be spilled during implementation of the state of emergency, but it will, nonetheless, be a small amount in comparison with the blood that might be spilled if the process of the state's disintegration is not halted. Who wrecked our economy? Who wrecked our state? Not only Mr. Landsbergis or Gamsakhurdia were destroying the state. It was Gorbachev as well, with his reckless policies, his mistaken acts. Obviously, we will have...[changes thought] well, it can't be excluded that things will be delayed for a time, during the period of the state of emergency. I like, shall we say, the Polish option most of all, that is, when people were simply interned for a specific period of time without court hearings. Even if they were in prison, they did enjoy, more or less, comfortable conditions. They were isolated for a period so that they did not exert a destabilizing influence on society. I believe that, in this situation, something similar will be applied here. I think that today we need, specifically today, that this committee talk a little less perhaps about carrying out radical economic reform, a market. They need to stop the disintegration of the old administrative-command system of government. To sweep away these republican customs posts, reestablish the old, destroyed ties after...[changes thought] Once the committee finds its feet, during the first few weeks or so.

Evidently, foreign policy will change as well, because you will already have noted the assessments of our foreign policy over the past few years that have been made in documents and official addresses of the committee. It is a negative assessment. I do not think that a scapegoat will be sought among representatives of the West. This is highly unlikely to happen. They will find their own Soviet [otechestvennykh] scapegoats. [end recording]

Article Advocates Judiciary, Media Reform

914B0323A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by Yu. Feofanov: "The State Found Itself Without Legal Protection When Faced With Conspiracy"]

[Text] During the days of the putsch, a dismal joke started spreading around the capital: "They (the conspirators) were not even capable of carrying out a proper coup." Already many speakers in the session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet were seriously saying: "If they had acted more decisively, then..."

And, alas, they are right. Indeed, the barricades surrounding the White House, its courageous defenders, the thousands of demonstrations in Moscow, the strikes declared in Vorkuta, appeals of the RSFSR president—all played a role in wiping out the conspiracy.

At the same time we have to admit that the element of democracy rose up against the planned mutiny armed to the teeth, people came out against the tanks. However, not a single state-legal institution automatically arose in defense of the Constitution. If one does not take into account the statements of a few members of the Constitutional Oversight Committee regarding the legality of introducing the state of emergency. In essence, the state—powerful in appearance, ever strict toward its subjects—surrendered in an instant to a small group of plotters.

Now let us stop and think—what legal forces do we have properly in place which must automatically rise up in defense of legality and constitutional order? When we think about it, we reach the conclusion that these do not exist in reality, although it would seem they exist in a formal sense.

The first guarantee (in the absence of the president) of constitutional legality is the parliament. At this moment it was on vacation, and its permanently functioning organ, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, did not have its say during the very first hours of the anti-constitutional coup. Moreover, the plotters armed themselves with the statement of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding his disagreement with the Union treaty. The putsch actually began from the reading of this document over the radio at 0600 the morning of 19 August. What real guarantees can we be talking about if the Union parliament even denies itself the right of "vetoing" ukases of the president?

Here the main reason lies in the flawed nature of the very concept of a unified organ concentrating "all power." Whereas at the highest levels there still may be some semblance of the existence of a separation of three powers, in the localities power remains as before in the same hands—what "the top man" says goes. And it is not by chance that in their very first statement, the plotters essentially confirmed the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." Separation of three powers and their relative independence from one another comprise one of the main guarantees of durability of a democratic system.

This system is safeguarded primarily by the "third power"—the judiciary. On 21 August I phoned USSR Supreme Court Chairman Ye.A. Smolentsev and asked: Could the court in principle oppose the conspiracy? The chairman replied with full justification that the court has no quick reaction mechanisms for events such as these, and indeed should not have any—its business is to judge, which occurs only following events.

The Constitutional Oversight Committee... Its few members, headed by the chairman, immediately issued a statement. But according to law currently in effect, in order to issue an official conclusion on the constitutionality of a law, ukase, governmental act or action, the committee must comply with procedure which takes a

minimum of two weeks. I spoke with S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the committee, and asked if the committee could react instantaneously.

"Not according to existing law," replied Sergey Sergeyevich. "We do not have a department for guarding the Constitution, which exists in various hypostases in rule-of-law states—in Germany, for example."

Such a legal institution is called upon to act immediately, imposing its "veto" on any anti-constitutional act. The history of this kind of legal guarantee goes back to the people's tribunes of ancient Rome. In designing a "rule-of-law state," however, our Supreme Soviet did everything possible to see to it that the "third power," judicial power, would not occupy the position it deserves in the state. It was artificially disrupted—the Constitutional Oversight Committee was not linked up with the entire judicial system. The state has no structures which would protect the Constitution (a department to guard it) and the rights of citizens (an ombudsman).

The Prosecutor General has the task of exercising oversight with respect to legality. He gave no assessment of the events. But it must be kept in mind that up until now the procuracy has been denied the right to protest acts of the government or resolutions of the highest organs of power of the republics. Indeed, the procuracy has been trained to be "the eye of the sovereign," but in no way the eye of the law.

There is a "fourth power" in the civilized world which reliably safeguards democracy—a free press. The Law on the Press would seemingly provide legal guarantees of its independence. But this turned out to be pure fiction. All that needed to be done was keep "your own man" on the television screen and close down objectionable newspapers—and society would be left without a voice, unable even to cry out in pain. The president already made an attempt upon the fairly democratic Law on the Press when the press caused him irritation, but he quickly retreated. The plotters trampled upon this law—easily and with impunity.

The question arises—perhaps we might now adopt a law on protecting the Law on the Press? I believe this would be just another in the series of fictions. I am convinced that a different legal status is necessary for the mass media. The authorities should not appoint the leading television and radio officials or editors-in-chief of the newspapers (with the exception of their own organs, of course). This must be done in such a way that directors and editorial boards are independent from directives, and restraints on the part of the authorities ineffectual. How can this be done? I don't know. But I am certain that without reliable guarantees of an independent press and independent judicial structures, a repeat of what has just occurred becomes entirely possible...

A session of the Union parliament, one week late, will convene 26 August. We must assume that an all-out fury will be unleashed against the plotters. But I am convinced that the first matter on the agenda should be the question of legal protection for the state and for the constitution.

Unity Association Views Kurdish Problems

PM2708152791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Soviet Kurds' Problems Being Discussed"]

[Text] A session of the governing body of the All-Union Kurdish Association "Yakbun" ("Unity") has taken place in Moscow. The association's leaders, M. Babayev and V. Mustafayev, representatives of the Kurdish population from different regions of the country, talked of the necessity to accelerate the practical restoration of rights to peoples who were forcibly moved from their native areas.

The declaration "On Recognizing as Illegal and Criminal Repressive Acts Against Peoples Subjected to Forced Resettlement and on Safeguarding Their Rights" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet has noticeably stimulated positive processes in this direction. Special commissions have been created which have been called on to devise and propose realistic measures to restore justice with regard to peoples who have suffered from repression, including the Kurds. An all-Union public organization—the Kurdish association "Yakbun"—has been registered, and its press organs—the journal SOVETSKIYE KURDY [SOVIET KURDS] and the newspaper KURDISTAN—have been created.

However, this has not lead to a noticeable improvement in the Soviet Kurds' living conditions. As a result of interethnic conflicts, tens of thousands have been forced to leave their place of residence in certain regions. The Kurdish community is raising the question of restoring their national and territorial formation and of reviving their national culture, traditions, and language.

V. Sobolev, chairman of the deputies' commission for problems of the Kurdish people, and commission members USSR People's Deputies V. Mamedov and O. Vostrukhov participated in the session. They spoke of the measures the USSR Supreme Soviet is taking jointly with the republics' leadership to restore the Soviet Kurds' rights and ease the situation of that section of the Kurdish population which has left its place of permanent residence.

Ethnic Divisions' Threat to Union Viewed

PM2708164191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by Yu. Orlik: "USSR: Period of Semicollapse?"]

[Text] The question of the destiny of the state in which we must live and which to this day is still called the

USSR is a key question. Will it be preserved or will it disintegrate? If it is preserved, then in what form? If it ceases to exist, then what? How will we live? Probably no one has the answer to these questions today. Every day and each hour change the situation, sometimes cardinally and irreversibly.

The putsch, or rather, the very possibility of organizing it here, at the center, finally has convinced the republics that the overcentralization of power is dangerous for their very existence, and they have hurriedly begun taking measures in self-defense—diverse measures the essence of which still needs to be interpreted.

Here are reports transmitted by news agencies and our correspondents on 25 August.

At an extraordinary session, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine and the formation of an independent Ukrainian state. It has been decided to hold a republican referendum 1 December 1991 to confirm the act of proclaiming independence. L. Kravchuk, head of the republican parliament, has called for the text of the Union Treaty to be revised, and he has proposed that there be no hurry to sign it in the present situation.

The Kazakh Supreme Soviet has made additions to the republic's Constitution concerning the creation of the Kazakh SSR Security Council. The republican Cabinet of Ministers has been entrusted with taking the necessary measures to expand Kazakhstan's independent foreign economic activity; to form its own gold, diamond, and currency stocks; and to ensure the republic's information independence.

The Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium has begun preparing a draft law on the republic's state independence. It is planned to submit it for examination at an extraordinary Supreme Soviet session. President I. Karimov of the Uzbek SSR has signed a decree in accordance with which the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB pass to the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR.

President A. Akayev of Kyrgyzstan has emphasized that the Union Treaty now requires more careful finalization. In the opinion of the Kyrgyz president, the republic must have more rights. Akayev spoke of the need to create a national guard in the republic.

Deputies of the Belorussian parliament have included on the session's agenda the question of imparting to the Belorussian SSR declaration of state sovereignty the status of a constitutional law.

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin, loyal to his oaths to respect the republics' sovereignty, has signed decrees recognizing the state independence of Estonia and Latvia and has urged the USSR president to do likewise.

New states and relations among them are coming into being before our eyes. Yeltsin has entrusted the RSFSR Foreign Ministry with holding talks and signing agreements on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and Estonia and between the RSFSR and the Latvian Republic. It is to be supposed that this will be followed by the signing of economic agreements as well.

The process of establishing horizontal ties among the republics did not begin yesterday.

Just recall the whole series of visits to one another and meetings by the republics' presidents and Supreme Soviet chairmen. Even back in the old Union, in an attempt to safeguard themselves against the absolute power and omnipotence of the Union ministerial bureaucracy, the republics were weaving the fabric of new relations and forming the unified economic space which the center accused them of destroying, as well as accusing them of causing the Union as a whole to collapse.

Here I would like to return for an instant to the past. It long ago became clear to everyone, with the possible exception of the supporters of Alksnis and Blokhin, that the old Union suits no one. But to undertake its dismantling? Many balked at this. A rather vague formula came into being—a renewed Union. But what is the essence of this formula? A confederation? A community? An association? Lagging behind the political realities, the center maneuvered in an attempt to reduce the renewal to purely cosmetic measures. It held an all-union referendum, wording its main question in such a way that it was extremely difficult to understand for what kind of Union we were to vote. Then many deputies brandished the referendum results from the rostrum, in different situations: For example, when M. Gorbachev proposed calling our Union the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, without "Socialist." And they really did have grounds, for the president had always stated his adherence to the socialist choice.

The Novo-Ogarevo meetings were the republics' last attempt to reach agreement. This process of taking leave of the empire was agonizingly difficult. The treaty was to have been signed 20 August. On the very eve of its signing, just hours before the putsch, [USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman] A. Lukyanov drew up his statement demanding more work on the treaty and its alteration. This was a document of which the conspirators had great need, and they used it as political substantiation for mutiny.

Of course, the situation following the putsch makes the treaty that has been proposed for signing largely a document of yesterday. It may be assumed that other republics will proclaim a policy of independence. Need this be feared? I believe that the chief thing is to take this into account. To keep ahead of things—which the supreme power was never able to do. Remember that Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov was the first to propose

signing the Union Treaty at the First Congress of People's Deputies in 1989. How was his proposal greeted? With the stamping of feet. For everything was possible then.

Something else must be feared: A splurge of aggressive nationalist sentiments and a modern form of the extreme reaction of the "Black Hundred" counterrevolutionary groups of the early 20th century; the division of the republics' population into indigenous and nonindigenous people; The forming of a bloc between the partycrats who have not yet left the stage and the nationalists. For them this is the last lifebelt.

National independence must not be used against freedom, against human rights—above all, the right to live where a person lives, to think the way he thinks. And not only facts from the past but also events of the present day attest that this is possible.

Ethnic conflicts did not come into being in our country. They are shaking many countries. In Europe alone, not counting the USSR, there are approximately 80 "points of tension" (these are the data of specialists). All eyes are on Yugoslavia. And yet the majority of European countries have learned to untie the most complex interethnic knots. This is not a matter of a single moment, and we should not be in a hurry; that's enough blood.

Appeals to national feelings and national self-awareness are both salutary and dangerous. The very thin line dividing the former from the latter should not be crossed.

Yet we should not arouse fears. The crushing of the mutiny opens up scope for new leaders and politicians with truly democratic convictions. And there is no doubt that they also will enter the supreme organs of power in the republics. We too, having survived those three days, have become different. So there is hope that we will not besmirch with interethnic feuds the freedom that has been gained.

Documentary on Brezhnev Era To Be Released

LD2808083691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A documentary film—The Rules of the Game [Pravila Igry]—which tells of the rules by which the upper echelons of power lived in totalitarian Soviet society, will appear on the screens in the near future. Among the main heroes of the film are Shchelokov, Churbanov, and Brezhnev. The film was shot about a year ago but has not been released for showing until now.

Media & Journalism

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Back in Circulation

PM2708214991

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian on 28 August, the first issue to appear since the newspaper's suspension as of 23 August, carries a new masthead, which reads as follows: "All-Union Independent Newspaper for the Social Protection of Working People" [instead of "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"] across the top; the newspaper's name appears exactly as before; the other information [date of first publication, price, issue number, date] is as before.

A 1,200-word boxed statement "To Our Readers," signed by "The Journalists of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA—All-Union Independent Newspaper for the Social Protection of Working People," says that a journalists' meeting held on 26 August "deemed it impossible to continue publication of the newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA with its former founder," and goes on:

"The editorial collegium has been disbanded.

"A.P. Yurkov was elected chief editor of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. An organizational bureau was elected to elaborate a new editorial charter, the editorial office structure, and the creative policy."

Toward the end, the statement says: "Yesterday RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA was reregistered with the RSFSR Ministry of Press and Mass Information with a new set of founders. They are the editorial office journalists' collective and the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions."

The founder/publisher information box on page four lists the "RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Newspaper's Journalists Collective, Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions" as founders, and A. Yurkov as chief editor.

Journalists Union Backs Yeltsin's Press Decrees

PM2708220591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "Glasnost. What Is Happening to It?": "From a Statement by the USSR Journalists Union"]

[Text] The USSR Journalists Union has issued a statement supporting RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin's decrees and the Russian Government's actions to nationalize the printing base of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party, and to grant editorial offices and publishing houses the right to be in charge of their own future, and in this connection does not share the fears and panic that are contained in a number of telegrams sent to the USSR Journalists Union.

Nevertheless, we are convinced that the question of closing down any publication, regardless of its party orientation, can only be done according to a procedure laid down by law. At the same time in every case, the decision should be made exclusively on the basis of an

examination of the specific circumstances of the case and, of course, not on the basis of any lists.

As in the first hours of the putsch, when the USSR Journalists Union resolutely opposed the suppression of the press and citizens' rights and freedoms, so now too we want to issue a warning: It would be an unforgivable mistake for our young democracy to judge a journalist by the cover of his official accreditation.

PRAVDA Collective Demands Repeal of Decree

PM2708211991 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[Unattributed report under general heading "Glasnost. What Is Happening to It?": "Letter from PRAVDA"]

[Text] An hour before this issue went to press, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA received a statement by the newspaper PRAVDA's collective. This is what it says:

"The newspaper PRAVDA is the victim of lawlessness. All through its existence, the newspaper has been banned on nine occasions: Eight times under the czar, and the ninth time—now.

"The collective is being defamed, and 425 persons have been denied the right to work. Accounts are being settled not with those who brought the Communist Party to its present state—they have quickly changed their tune; the blows are aimed against honest people, honest Communists. Keeping silent about this and remaining impartial means being an accomplice to the arbitrariness that is taking place.

"Any newspaper has the right to exist in any normal society. The choice must be left to readers, not to presidents.

"We demand an immediate repeal of the Russian president's anticonstitutional decree No. 76 of 22 August suspending the activity of several newspapers."

This document has been sent to the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviets, the USSR Constutitonal Oversight Committee, the USSR and RSFSR general prosecutors, and the USSR Journalists Union.

Radio Journalists Oppose Suspension

LD2708104991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Here is a statement by the collective of journalists of our radio station. It is brief. Listen to it:

One of the most important lessons of the putsch is that freedom of speech must be guaranteed. Proceeding from this, the collective of journalists of Mayak demands the immediate revocation of the decision on suspending the publication of the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, GLASNOST, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and LENINSKAYA PRAVDA.

We propose that our colleagues from television broadcast this statement today, 27 August 1991, on the "Vremya" program. People have been acquainted with it on Mayak, executing the will of the collective.

We want to create a soviet for the radio station, with broad powers. The aim of this is to exclude pressure upon journalists on the part of any state or political structures and to entrust that soviet with the elaboration and implementation of fundamental decisions on questions of broadcasting policy, and the elaboration of the main guidelines for the activity of radio stations. By making use of the opportunities available to us, we intend to appeal to the presidents of the USSR and of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to support our proposals.

The statement is signed by the collective of the Mayak radio station.

Spiridonov Defends Actions During Putsch

LD2708122791 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Statement for the press" issued by former TASS director Lev Spiridonov]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Follows a statement for the press by former TASS director-general Lev Spiridonov, relieved of his duties by the decree of the USSR president of August 26, 1991:

In connection with the fact that the USSR president confirmed his consent to the decree of the Russian Federation president in which I, and the TASS collective, are accused of misleading the country's population and world public in the days of the right-wing coup, I deem it necessary to state the following:

1. In the days of the putsch, working under the pressure of severe censorship, TASS continued to function as a world news agency, collecting and referring to its subscribers all the information it received from its correspondent network. This information included reports about the attitude in the country and abroad to the tragic events, the stand of the Russian Government, including President Yeltsin's call for a general timeless strike. Broad readership was informed of the opinion of the USSR Constitutional Compliance Committee about the unconstitutional nature of the coup. TASS correspondents reported the condemnation of the adventuristic step by leaders of major countries and the world public. Foreign journalists noted the special role of TASS in spreading truth about the events in the country. TASS has documented proof to this effect.

And, finally, it was precisely TASS that assumed the responsibility in its official report at mid-day on August

21 to describe the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency as the former committee, which was noted by world news agencies. TASS has not published the "denial" that came afterwards from the Yanayev secretariat. On that day, long before the turn of events became clear, TASS published a commentary by a news analyst, setting out its stance with regard to the unconstitutional coup.

These are just separate facts. Many more facts are reflected in the TASS files. TASS cannot be held responsible for the use of its items by the media.

This is why I regard as unjustifiable the accusations of misinformation and almost complicity with the junta.

To establish the truth I asked the USSR president to set up a competent commission which could study all the items issued by TASS in the three fatal days. I make the same request of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

2. And, finally, just a few words about my personal attitude to what has happened. On learning about the introduction of the state of emergency in the morning of August 19, when I was vacationing in Pitsunda, I could not see how I could sit it out in a sanatorium, referring to an illness or the lack of air tickets in the booking office. I have made my choice. It was to be together with my associates, TASS journalists at that moment, perhaps the most difficult and tragic moment in the life of the country. From August 20 I was at my post. I do not decline all the responsibility for my actions, I do not clutch to the chair of TASS director-general, but I demand that justice be done onto me and my comrades, journalists.

L. Spiridonov

All-Union Media Workers Discuss 'Independence'

LD2708235491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent V. Vasilyev on a meeting of All-Union Television and Radio workers in the Ostankino Concert Hall on 27 August; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The August days have changed many things. There were heroes, and there were enemies, but due to this our world has not become a black-and-white one, or, if you prefer, a red-and-white one. There are as many colors as there are many different living individuals. Central Television was accused of collaborating, but it does not represent Leonid Kravchenko alone, who has already been removed from his post as All-Union Television and Radio Company chairman.

Today, we gathered at the Ostankino Concert Hall to understand how we should go on living, or to be more precise, we attempted to decide our own fate. In any case, proposals on this were expressed in almost every speech. No one shifted the blame from those who kept a servile silence or spoke deliberate lies from the screen.

It became known to the meeting that the safes of the KGB were sealed off on television, whose false activities, as you understand, started long before the coup.

There is no stricter judge than one's own conscience, and by coming to an agreement with it everyone must decide for himself whether to stay or to leave. Perhaps it will become what can be called a purification.

The lessons of the coup showed our defenselessness and inability to perform our civic and professional duty: to give honest and objective information. The difference in viewpoints did not obstruct unification on the main thing. Many speakers stressed the need to reconsider radically the company's structure, the principles of its work, and the methods of its administration. Its political and economic independence can and should become a guarantor against any trends in the political struggle. It should not be allowed that such a powerful weapon as television and radio would become a plaything in somebody's hands.

Undoubtedly, different people will soon come. A presidential decree on appointing Yegor Yakovlev to the post of television and radio company chairman has already been announced. However, until presidential decrees are approved by parliament and until television acquires its independence, the situation is unlikely to change.

The meeting of the collective adopted a decision to elaborate and implement the idea of the company's independence.

Journalists' Union Expels Putsch Supporters

PM2708135491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 5

[Unattributed report: "To Each His Own"]

[Text] Words of gratitude to progressive journalists who performed their professional duty honestly under very difficult conditions of a ban were heard at a session of the Journalists Union Secretariat yesterday: "We are proud of the journalists who worked for days and nights alongside the Russian president." A statement condemning the stand taken by several newspapers was adopted: "...We have no right to forgive those who, instead of struggling for democracy and freedom, chose the path of connivance with and support for the conspirators, preparing and transmitting materials supporting and approving their activity. Responsibility for this is borne primarily by G.N. Seleznev, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA; V.V. Chikin, A.P. Yurkov, and A.P. Kharlamov, chief editors of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, and SELSKAYA ZHIZN respectively; G.A. Shishkin, first deputy general director of TASS; and others.

"...For aiding, abetting, and supporting the coup organizers and also for violating the statutes of the Moscow Journalists Union and the USSR Law on the Press they are expelled from the Journalists Union by decision of the secretariat. As for L.P. Kravchenko, chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, he was, as is known, expelled earlier from the union by decision of the Moscow Journalists Union Secretariat."

TASS Announces 'Radical' Reorganization

LD2708173091 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1544 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received]) In connection with the circulation of conflicting information on the situation in TASS, a conciliatory commission empowered by the agency's collective announces that today it has begun work on developing a unified approach to the radical reorganization of the agency. Various proposals put forward by initiative groups are being considered. A general TASS conference with the agenda "The radical reform of TASS" has been set for 29 August.

Yegor Yakovlev To Head State TV, Radio

LD2708131491 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Yegor Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of the MOSCOW NEWS weekly, has been appointed chairman of the federal state television and radio broadcasting company.

The respective decree, signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev, instructs Yakovlev and the Russian minister for the press and mass media, Mikhail Poltoranin, to draw up proposals for organising the Russian Republic's television.

OGONEK Chief Editor Resigns Position

PM2708010391 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 4

[Unattributed report under general heading "In Brief"]

[Text] Moscow—A meeting of the journal OGONEK's editorial office labor collective was held yesterday. A decision was adopted to grant the request by V.A. Korotich and relieve him of his duties as chief editor, due to his wish to transfer to lecturing work. L.N. Gushchin was elected chief editor of the journal.

Journalist Union Head Cited on Free Press Role

LD2808052391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Eduard Sagaleyev, chairman of the Union of Journalists of the USSR, expresses his opinion on the decision by the Russian leadership to suspend party publications on the pages of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS today. He thinks that in the present situation it is a question of the violation of the rights of the journalist and of the law on the press. It should be a question of the re-registration of these publications. Those who cooperated with the anti- constitutional committee should leave them.

Banning and closing the publications is the same as destroying monuments. The guilt of those concerned should be proved in a court of law. The leadership of the Union of Journalists has asked journalists' organizations to discuss these questions and to express their opinion as to how one or another leader of an editorial office, how journalists, behaved in that situation. What is meant here are those publications which were allowed by the putsch organizers. There may be people of different political convictions in the Union of Journalists and the mass media but there is no place among us for liars and scoundrels. There is no room in our professional union, in an editorial office, for those who, during those days, lied or who manifested cowardice.

At the same time, Eduard Sagalayev thinks that it is quite normal for somebody's political convictions not to coincide, for instance, with the government of Russia, the parliament. That is the principle of a free state, the principle of the free press for which Muscovites, the people of Russia, also fought at the barricades.

I remind you that was the opinion of Eduard Sagaleyev, chairman of the Union of Journalists of the USSR, which he expressed today on the pages of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS

Chief Editor Reviews TRUD Putsch Coverage

914B0330B Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Potapov, chief editor of TRUD: "Air of Freedom"]

[Text] We are all currently overwhelmed by emotions. Democracy has stood its ground. The tanks, this favorite argument of the "defenders" of socialist humanism, did not pass. Following asphyxiation of the just under three days of military-KGB "emergency men," we are once again breathing the air of freedom.

We have to give deep thought to what the menace of the brazen power grab of a group of miserable putschists was. Miserable, but invested with office which was impressive enough. Beginning with the vice president, who declared himself acting president, and for greater plausibility, a "friend" of the allegedly sick M.S. Gorbachev, who, he said, would reappear and become a part of the concerted work...

The attempt at a breakthrough into the shining Brezhnev-Stalin past proceeded, in itself, beneath a heavy smokescreen of demagogic incantations as regards the salvation of an exclusively socialist fatherland, democracy and the prevention of famine and civil war. Really: preventing war by turning the guns on unarmed compatriots.

On what were the usurpers of freedom counting most—on the tanks or a fraudulent game with the people experiencing a truly serious, acute-crisis time of want, deprivation and anxiety?

Neither succeeded. Stronger than both was the courage of Russia and its popularly elected President B.N. Yeltsin surrounded by (tanks do not count) worthy fellow thinkers, thank God—in Russia's "White House," in the capital and elsewhere.

The people stood firm and succumbed neither to lies nor fear (and this is a particularly shining outcome for all of us). Leningraders, Sverdlovskers, Kemerovo miners, Tyumen oilers—why list them! Let us put it this way: The labor backbone of our compatriots, while harassed by the protracted wheel-spinning of the reforms, stood up for this same abused and overabused perestroyka and its main visible achievement—democracy. No, we should not sink into euphoria and underestimate the forces of the reactionaries. But it is a fact that the majority of our people did not agree to, could not exchange the daily bread of freedom for paradise in the form of iron order, 15 hundredths of land and guaranteed broth for all promised by the junta.

For this reason in the very first "emergency" edition of the newspaper we TRUD journalists were able to speak extensively about the strict nonrecognition and rejection of the anticonstitutional coup not only in Moscow (setting forth the appeal of B. Yeltsin, I. Silayev, and R. Khasbulatov to the citizens of Russia) but also in a whole number of regions. The adventurers' hopes of a Blitzkrieg against democracy came to naught. The next edition was essentially wholly a platform for protest against the coup. The full text of the strict demands of the Russian leadership, the antiputsch position of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of the USSR and the Russian trade unions and of the Coal Miners Union, the protest of the USSR Journalists Union and material from the localities and the republics were presented. If the junta entertained any hopes of the "loyalty" of the most popular paper of the working people, the editorial office had a different position on this score. And this did not go unnoticed by the readers.

Their calls, letters and telegrams testify to this. Here is just one example: "TRUD Editorial Office, Moscow. We congratulate you on the achievement of our common goal—the restoration of legality, constitutional rights, and democracy in the country. We express gratitude for the steadfastness and solidarity with the peoples of Latvia which were displayed. We express profound condolences to the families of those who died during the attempt at the illegal coup. We hope for continued close and mutually respectful cooperation between the peoples of our states for a strengthening of values common to all mankind. On behalf of the Republic of Latvia Coordinating Council for Assistance Under General Strike Conditions, Andris Silin, chairman of the Latvian Council of Free Trade Unions."

We had prepared ourselves that first grim day for a more prolonged struggle. Thank God, there was no great bloodshed and no shooting (I would like to believe that our soldier could not have fired at freedom, fired at his own people...). But there were casualties. And this is not only the sorrow of the nearest and dearest, it is the sorrow of all us: Send not to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee...

It is a time for answering many questions which remain unclear, a time for learning all the necessary lessons. Yesterday, incidentally, we in the editorial office held a party meeting, after which it was decided to eliminate the CPSU primary organization in the outfit. This also is a result of these three days.

Some people are rushing to christen what happened a tragi-farce, meaning the personal mediocrity of the conspirators. Let us be in no hurry with simplified evaluations of what happened. The danger of a backward turn is not just words. If we really intend to be civilized members of the world community, let us demand a guarantee of the irreversibility and self-defense of our as yet so young democracy. Let us demand them of the country and the world.

Paper Describes Efforts To Publish During Ban

PM2708102391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by Yelizaveta Leontyeva: "Banned for Three Long Days"]

[Text] These notes have been written exclusively for the purpose of saying words of gratitude to those who helped our newspaper to live, to be published, and to give the reader trustworthy information.

On 19 August the director of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA party publishing house, where by the will of fate we do our printing, told us most categorically that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA would not be appearing. It soon became known that its other democratic "sisters" would not be appearing either. At that moment we decided to go over to leaflet issues. Need I say how many problems we had in our newspaper, which is still only finding its feet, with A3-format paper, an overheating photocopier, a choking teletype machine, and with computer equipment?

We took three routes toward our goal. Several people flew to Volgograd to make a four-page newspaper, others scoured Moscow for small, "inconspicuous" printing plants to produce the newspaper in the normal volume and with a large print run, and yet others prepared leaflets. And then a fourth route emerged—a joint multipage issue of all the banned publications. Thanks to KOMMERSANT and thanks to all who helped to organize this.

I wish to speak of my own collective in particular. No, unfortunately, not all of them got down to work. But how

many people came to light during these days who worked around the clock and did not spare themselves. During the day they prepared and printed their own underground newspaper, posting it up until late at night, and then during the night many found time to go to the House of the Soviets in order to stay there until morning and bring fresh reports back to the editorial office.

By the second edition of our leaflet we had more than enough paper, for we brought in even Finnish paper, for dollars. Thanks to the "Rodnik" cooperative and the printing and duplicating laboratory of the Institute of Vocational Education of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Education. Thanks to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Moscow City Soviet, thanks to the volunteer billposters who came to us and offered their services.

When you post up your own newspaper, reduced in size, in the subway and people make a beeline for it—believe me, it is a special feeling. What is interesting is that people at once thrust the glue and adhesive tape into your hand and literally snatch the leaflet, promising to duplicate it in outlying districts.

Our staffer Leonid Skoptsov was detained while posting up Boris Yeltsin's decrees but, fortunately, he was soon released. Others ran risks too. Our journalists ran risks when they brought the newspaper from Volgograd by air and road. When we were told that the telephones would soon be cut off, within an hour we found apartments and telephones for communication, to receive information and produce leaflets.

Yesterday, when we entered the building of the publishing house in order to produce this issue for you, our readers, workers were removing the last signboard of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper from the wall.

In earnest? Forever?

TASS Reviews 28 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD2808063491 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 28 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet Newspapers today highlight the Soviet parliament's extraordinary session convened to discuss the situation in the country after the abortive coup.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, TRUD and SELSKAYA ZHIZN write that on Tuesday the parliament discussed urgent measures and legislative acts aimed to eliminate the possibility of a repetition of a coup d'etat.

Newspapers publish the Soviet president's remarks summing up the debate. Gorbachev said "the USSR should be preserved as a union of sovereign states". The president noted the coup had prompted strong centrifugal tendencies.

Newspapers report a meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev.

The participants reaffirmed their adherence to the Novo-Ogarevo process and expressed hope that the earliest signing of the Union treaty with the necessary amendments, dictated by a new situation in the country, will help promote political stabilisation and open wide vistas for unimpeded reforms, the creation of a single market and conclusion of an economic agreement between all 15 sovereign republics.

Newspapers publish the Soviet president's decrees and the Soviet parliament's resolution suspending Anatoliy Lukyanov's activities as chairman of the Soviet parliament.

A statement by the Soviet Journalists' Union, published today, supports Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decrees and the activities by the Russian Government to nationalise printing facilities of the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties and grant editorial staffs and publishing houses the right to decide their fate for themselves.

TRUD warns that "while we are celebrating the victory, losers can regroup their forces".

The newspaper also reports events in Leningrad between August 19- 21.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA calls on parliamentarians to focus on problems facing people. The country is moving towards a cold winter, and it can also be a winter of famine, the newspaper writes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA features problems with food supplies in Sverdlovsk.

"I feared that they will arrest me in the Soviet Embassy in Paris," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in an interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Over the past years, our ambassadors have mastered the rhetoric of perestroyka. They spoke about new thinking, but they were the same nomenclature. Party committees functioned in all embassies. The Soviet Foreign Ministry practically remained a diplomatic unit of the Soviet Communist Party. The West failed to understand this, Kozyrev said.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries an interview with prominent Soviet economists Pavel Bunich and Nikolay Petrakov about the situation with food supplies in the country, which is "horrible", according to Bunich.

Speaking about ways out of the economic crisis, Petrakov noted that "it is necessary to support the private sector". He believes that "the West is ready for such assistance".

In an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, head of the Soviet Defence Ministry's Motor Department Colonel-General V. Popov speaks about new approaches to combating road accidents. Academician Nikolay Malashenko told SELSKAYA ZHIZN that rent payments for non-irrigated land in the country will amount to some 28-29 billion roubles.

Economic

Bank Organizes Fund in Wake of Coup

914B0323B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By G. Charodeyev: "Fund Organized on Eliminating the Aftereffects of the Coup"]

[Text] It has become known that the joint-shares bank "Delovaya Rossiya" [Business Russia] announced the organization of a fund on eliminating the aftereffects of the putsch. According to V. Okhlopkov, chairman of the bank's board, the "Delovaya Rossiya" labor collective has decided to put one million rubles into the fund. We provide the following information to all for whom the destiny of the Fatherland is a concern: Account number 1161912, commercial accounts center of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Central Bank for the city of Moscow, Moscow Finance Department 201791, "Delovaya Rossiya" Bank, "Fund for Eliminating the Aftereffects of the Putsch." The right of allocating and distributing monies of this fund is afforded to authorized representatives of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Russian Trade Union Plenum on Coup Reported

914A1115 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 91 pp 1,3

[By A. Kozlov: "Exacting Self-Analysis"]

[Text] An extraordinary plenum of the Council of the FNPR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia] has been held. It was prepared in the alarming days of the beginning of the coup d'etat. The terrible days have passed. But it is necessary to learn lessons from what happened.

In his report, FNPR chairman I.Ye. Klochkov made a detailed analysis of the actions of the Russian trade unions, whose voice was heard by the workers. In many respects, it was only through trade union channels that labor collectives received true and full information about the position and measures of the authorities of Russia in opposing the so-called GKChP [State of Emergency Committee]. In this way the trade unions helped the workers of the republic to make a conscious choice in favor of democracy and the defense of the constitution. The civic maturity of the trade unions of Russia was demonstrated once again.

And at the same time, the reaction of the trade unions to the recent events was ambiguous.

S. Gadzhiyev, chairman of the confederation of independent trade unions of Dagestan: 19 August was a shock, all of us were confused, and we did not know what to do. And then there was a call from the FNPR and the position was explained to us. A council of the confederation of our trade unions was convened. The situation was discussed, the putschists were denounced, and a document was drawn up which was sent to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of our republic. Explanatory work was begun in the primary organizations. But there were also those among the representatives of the trade union committees who supported the so-called GKChP. And I got the idea: But why not investigate such trade union leaders?

Yu. Voronin, grinder at the Leningrad production association "Zavod Bolshevik": The blame for the recent events lies not only with the GKChP, but also, in particular, with us, with those who are sitting in this hall. Our continuous debates on any occasion, disagreement, and nonsupport—all of this gave a reason which the "eight" exploited. It was this event that showed that we will be strong through unity.

G. Botsmanov, chairman of the Belgorod oblsovprof [oblast council of trade unions]: I think we will learn the right lesson from what has happened in order for our organization to become stronger. Autumn will see difficult days for the Russian trade unions when we begin to fight with the same B. Yeltsin for a pay increase for the workers. We will have to confront—and this also will be rather dangerous—and we will have to organize strikes and make demands. We must close our ranks.

Yu. Markin, secretary of the federation of trade union organizations of Saratov Oblast: A large percentage of trade union workers are inveterate partocrats who cannot deviate from former methods of work, and who lead trade unions from former positions. It is necessary to say today that people who are in elective organs of the CPSU should not head trade unions at all levels.

N. Pikovskaya, chairman of the Ulyanovsk city union of cooperatives: How do the people view trade unions? You, they say, in any case will do what the CPSU gorkom [city committee] or the obkom [oblast committee] tells you. And they are right in many ways. And today the trade unions continuously look to these organs. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the prestige of the trade unions through deeds. It is the trade unions that should become the "binding glue" for the workers in their struggle for their rights and interests.

Sufficiently similar self-critical and frank assessments were expressed at the plenum. And what is characteristic is that these sober assessments of their own affairs, and the style and methods of work, formed the basis of documents adopted by the plenum.

A resolution "On the Position of the FNPR in Connection With the Political Situation That Arose as a Result of the Coup d'Etat in the USSR" confirms the declaration of the plenum of the FNPR council sent to all member organizations of the federation, to trade union centers of the other Union republics and of foreign countries, and to international associations of trade unions. The secretariat of the FNPR council was instructed to analyze the position of member organizations in the anxious days of the coup. It is recommended that FNPR member organizations in the near future examine the question of the cessation of activity of party organizations in the apparati of trade union organs.

The resolution notes the "courageous position of the editorial office of the newspaper TRUD, which in these tragic days was the only publication to deal objectively with the position of the Russian leadership and the trade unions."

The declaration adopted by the plenum of the FNPR council states that at a decisive hour, from the first minutes of the leadership putsch, many members of the FNPR council, branch trade unions, a number of inter-union trade union organs, and primary trade union organizations supported the legal Russian authority, the popularly elected president of the RSFSR, and the Ukase of the President of the RSFSR No. 59. They undertook active measures to distribute the ukases of the RSFSR president to the workers and the population, they condemned the anti-popular coup, they came out against the unconstitutional State of Emergency Committee, and they organized protest actions.

The declaration also states that the plenum proposes to convene an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies—at which a detailed analysis of the reasons for what happened will be given—to form a coalition government of national confidence, and to continue the process of forming a new Union of sovereign republics. The plenum called on each trade union organization to protest decisively in the future as well, choosing various forms in the process—meetings, rallies, demonstrations, strikes, etc.

The people have no weapons—our main resources are solidarity, coordination of efforts, and joint strong actions that will show what the people decisively are for and what they are against.

The FNPR council, it states in conclusion, considers it necessary to learn an important lesson from the indecisive and conciliating position of the leaders of individual member organizations that tried to remain on the sideline of events, and some even supported the actions of the GKChP. The FNPR council calls on trade union organizations to evaluate the actions of its own elected organs and specific trade union workers in this difficult and critical hour.

The extraordinary plenum of the FNPR council passed a resolution on the establishment of a fund to assist the families of those who perished on the barricades of Moscow and the construction of a monument to the Muscovites who blocked the road against military equipment.

The FNPR was the first to begin the process of reforming the country's trade union movement. Today it is exactingly analyzing the chosen path.

GCTU's Shcherbakov on 'Victory for Democracy'

914A1112A Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Aug 91 p 1

[Statement by V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions: "Lessons of These Difficult Days"]

[Text] On 20 August TRUD published the statement of the Presidium of the GCTU [General Confederation of Trade Unions] Council in connection with the sharp worsening of the situation in the country. This document formulated the trade unions' demands brought out by the unconstitutional takeover of power, and was addressed to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Today the main demand among these have been practically fulfilled through the efforts of all democratic forces. Troops have been withdrawn from Moscow and other cities where they had been sent in connection with the state of emergency. The bloodshed that started last night in the Krasnaya Presnya area has stopped. We hope to hear from, and see the appearance of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. The ban on the activities of a number of mass media has been lifted. Because of this ban, the GCTU statement was published only in TRUD, while Central Television basically distorted the trade unions' position. The announcer read only the last paragraph, thus presenting the trade unions to the people as some sort of "conciliators."

Democracy and the people have won. History has confirmed once again that political problems cannot be solved with the help of tanks and at the price of blood. The anticonstitutional coup has failed. Still, we should not be lulled into complacency in this respect. Because there are still too many of those who want to profit from the difficulties in which the country has found itself, from the disintegration of our economy, from inter-ethnic strife, and from disagreements among various political groups.

The bitter and troublesome days of rule by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency have considerably deepened the crisis in the country. At the same time, these three days have taught us a great deal.

It is known that unanimity no longer reigns in our "trade union house," and that the spread of opinions and positions among various trade union associations is great. These different points of view and arguments have been present during the formulation of the statement, too. But only on details. We were all united in one thing:

We would not allow the anticonstitutional coup, and we would not allow bloodshed. And also in that we should take most decisive steps and call a general warning strike.

Our position was supported by international trade union associations. We have received a letter from the European Confederation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the International Confederation of Labor. The international trade union movement denounces the coup in the USSR, the letter says. The removal of Mikhail Gorbachev from power represents a harsh return to the past, which neither the citizens of the Soviet Union nor the international community will allow. The ECTU, ICFTU, and ICL sharply denounce the takeover of state power staged by the reactionary forces, and call on the international community to immediately express its support to the reform movement and to all democratic forces.

Now our main task is to help the country get out of the economic crisis, to rise above inter-ethnic disagreements, to reaffirm the democratic changes, to save the country from disintegration, and to create the USSR—the Union of equal sovereign states. The bitter experience of the past three days should help us join ranks in the name of these goals. The trade unions will contribute to it in every way possible.

Party Attempt To Convert Funds Reported

LD2708163591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] News from the Russian Information Agency [RIA] ends this news bulletin. A U.S. businessman told an RIA correspondent that certain CPSU functionaries tried to use him to convert a large sum of Communist Party funds. This deal was part of the USSR Gosbank operation to convert—that is, into hard currency—up to R500 billion with the assistance of the U.S. firm International Business Communication. According to this businessman—who asked not to be named—the firm which was interested in having large quantities of rubles for investment in Soviet industry prepared the relevant documents. Its representative, who arrived in Moscow on 9 August, met with Oleg Mozhayskiy, head of the USSR Gosbank's foreign currency department, and then with Viktor Gerashchenko, head of USSR Gosbank. The latter, in response to demands from the U.S. side for guarantees to be provided that the proposed deal was legal, requested two days to think about it.

On 18 August, the firm's representative was made an unofficial offer, for the success of a major operation planned by them in Moscow, to convert money owned by the CPSU. According to the same source, the firm's representative rejected this proposal for moral considerations, not wishing to carry out operations with the money of "Communists, Nazis or drug traffickers." Hence, the continuation of talks with the USSR Gosbank also became impossible. In the businessman's view, traces of other attempts to convert party funds can probably be found in the archives of the Union's central bank.

Chamber of Commerce Presidium Relieved of Duties

OW2708220691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2109 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI), a non-governmental organisation which represents Soviet enterprises in foreign trade, were relieved of their duties on Tuesday by Mr. Mikhail Kuryachev, the deputy Russian prime-minister for international affairs. On Monday, he was appointed head of the CCI by a decision of Mr. Ivan Silayev, the chief of the Committee on Operative Economic Management of the USSR. Mr Kuryachev also ordered an emergency audit of the CCI.

An official reason for the suspension of the CCI presidium members from their duties was "the position they took during the coup attempt". However, the CCI officials insist the chamber did not issue any official documents showing its support for the conspirators.

The order of the new CCI chief does not apply to the chamber's specialised associations.

In accordance with the chamber's rules, a decision to dismiss the presidium has to be taken by the Board of the Chamber comprising 120 people.

Developments Encourage Foreign Business Community

OW2608084991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A sounding made on Friday of the foreign business community in Moscow revealed universal relief that last week's ominous coup had failed. However, with so many key questions affecting the economy still undecided, businessmen remained cautious.

A spokesman for the United States Embassy emphasized that the American business community was very encouraged by the support shown for democracy. Most American businessmen had remained calm during the coup, he said, and some whose business interests were outside of Moscow felt that these would not be affected by political changes. Now, repercussions to the coup can be expected, but businessmen here "will return to dealing with the opportunities and problems that existed before it happened," he added.

The German Embassy commented that German businessmen had resumed travelling around the USSR (they had been urged not to earlier in the week), but it was too early yet for any specific plans for an expansion of German business activity in the USSR to be formulated.

Japan's largest trading company in USSR, the Marubeni Corporation, which buys Soviet raw materials and exports goods ranging from textiles, to steel, to electronics, has decided to block any large new deals for a few weeks. Only routine business, backed by a letter of credit, will be carried on meanwhile.

British officials reported that some British businessmen who had left the country early in the week had now returned, and that the community as a whole was hoping that trade between the two countries would pick up and that the atmosphere would improve.

Canadian businessmen had gathered at their embassy on Thursday and were reported to have talked about carrying on their business in the USSR as if the coup had never happened.

Most of the businessmen from the major Latin countries—France, Italy and Spain—where the month of August is a ritual holiday, were out of the country and therefore there was scant local reaction. A spokesman for the French Embassy, however, announced that the French were "delighted" at the way the situation had turned out.

Unemployment Predicted for Market Economy

LD2508185491 Hamburg DPA in German 1828 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In the opinion of Nikolay Portugalov, a Soviet-Germany expert, the introduction of a market economy in the Soviet Union will lead to some 30 million people becoming unemployed. Neither Boris Yeltsin nor Mikhail Gorbachev have a concept to counter that, Portugalov said in an interview with 'BERLINER ZEITUNG' (Monday edition). Nonetheless, there is for his country only that way open.

In the view of Portugalov, as a member of the CPSU Central Committee, which is about to be disbanded, Gorbachev is still useful to Russian President Yeltsin since he has to endorse Yeltsin's resolutions. Thus the appearance of a still existing Union could be maintained, at least for a transitional period.

An edited version of the interview was made available to DPA.

Foreign Investment Implications Viewed

PM2708134091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By M. Berger: "Not Selling Ourselves Short. Thoughts on a Possible 'Investment Blow'"]

[Text] One other factor should be mentioned among all the heroes and factors already mentioned in saving constitutional authority in the country and the president himself. To a certain extent we are beholden to M. Gorbachev's cadre mistakes for the speed with which the putsch failed.

It was precisely because the president surrounded himself with gray, weak-willed, timid, and fantastically unpopular men that most people had no problem in choosing whom to support. And a second, no less important, point in this connection is that the selection of absolutely incompetent people "guaranteed" the speedy and complete failure of the coup. If the president had surrounded himself with more vigorous and resolute figures who were equally devoted to the socialist choice and the communist future, who knows what price would have had to be paid and how long it would have taken to get the country out of its emergency.

Now that the Communist Party and its eponymous future are relinquishing their illegally acquired place in society's life and, above all, its economy—not least its external economy—there is every reason to expect an investment boom. Many western companies and financial organizations are reviewing or preparing to review their strategy regarding the Soviet Union. Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], flies in to Moscow 23 August and, in the few hours of his stay here (from three in the afternoon to seven in the evening) will meet with B. Yeltsin, E. Shevardnadze, and M. Gorbachev (the order of names corresponds to the visit program). After this he will have talks with A. Sobchak in Leningrad. It is quite likely that the EBRD president's visit will prepare the ground for a bank decision to remove the three year limit on the Soviet Union's withdrawing more than its contribution to the bank—around $220 million.

Other international financial organizations—the IMF and the World Bank—are reviewing their position or preparing to do so. All this will send a powerful signal to private capital.

Those G-7 finance ministers who have not yet been to our country are due to visit the USSR. Admittedly, they were invited by the old cabinet and by former deputy premier V. Shcherbakov personally.

In order not to lose time in this situation, A. Shokhin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Economic Relations Administration, believes that it would be a good idea to delegate to the Russian Government the right to conduct talks on the foundations of investment strategy—all the more so as western bankers are already saying that they are prepared to trust B. Yeltsin's guarantees. In any event, it is necessary to set up agencies, funds, and other structures to insure investment as quickly as possible—and there are no such structures in Russia at the moment.

But something else is even more important today. At a time of sharply increased investment interest **we must not sell ourselves short or latch onto the first proposals that come our way. We should trade the way real owners would.**

And there can be no doubt that there will be more and more investment proposals, given the lessening of the political risk attached to investing in our country.

Brian Murray, chief executive officer of Bear Stearns (one of the largest U.S. investment banks) responsible for East Europe and the Soviet Union, said that recent events are of immense positive importance for strategic investors, who are now showing an enormous amount of interest in the new opportunities.

Bear Stearns is currently assessing the value of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant with a view to its privatization, and the new circumstances which have emerged in what is effectively a new country will probably be taken into account.

But not all investment projects will have the backing of such well-known companies. And the danger here lies not only in our lack of experience and inability to attract professional consultants or organize competitive tendering, or in the fact that many people are incapable of telling a real entrepreneur apart from a London or Paris dilettante. It is also a problem of mentality, of the fact that many of our fellow citizens who have been abroad have, unwillingly, learned to seek out the cheapest store in order to take back a dollar's worth of presents for their family and friends.

This bad habit could cost us dear in the privatization process, in which foreign capital will be involved. After all, you can buy things as often as you like, and, once you have spent your money, you can even hope to earn more. But you can only sell something once, and mistakes in this area would be unforgivable.

Agriculture

Agriculture Official on Grain Fulfillment

LD2408100491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Excerpts] And now here is a commentary on the harvest and reports by correspondents. According to information supplied by the USSR Goskomstat, bread grain in the country has been threshed on 55 million ha which is just over half of the areas under grain. Our correspondent Olga Yermakova asked Yuriy Alekseyevich Nikitin, a senior official from the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuffs, to comment on the harvest. [pasage omitted: Nikitin explains that the harvest is not even throughout the country because of the drought in the Volga region, Kazakhstan, and Siberia]

[Nikitin] On the whole the yield amounts to more than 20 centners per hectare throughout the country. [passage omitted: Nikitin says grain quality is average]

The speed of the sale of grain to the state is very low. Suffice it to say that commodity grain makes up only 22 percent whereas last year it was 30 percent. Especially low speeds of the sale of grain to the state are seen in the Uzbek SSR Soviet Socialist Republic. For example, this republic has already threshed 871,000 tonnes of grain but it was sold to the state reserves only 83. [figure as heard] Or take the Republic of Moldova: Having treshed more than 1.5 million tonnes of grain it has sold to the state reserves 216,000 tonnes. One can cite more of such examples.

There are, though, good examples. Such oblasts as Bryansk, Kirov, Nizhnivy Novgorod, Penza, Mariyskaya, and Mordovskaya republics have already fulfilled the standard food tax and are continuing to sell grain to the state to fulfill state orders.

[Yermakova] Yuriy Alekseyevich, we know that 77 million tonnes of bread grain should be delivered to the state. How much of it has been fulfilled today?

[Nikitin] The state order has been fulfilled, up to this moment, by 32.3 percent] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The farms and holdings of Rovno Oblast have fulfilled the sale of bread grain according to the state order. More than 120,000 tonnes of breadgrain has been delivered to assembly points. [passage omitted]

Harvest Figures for Russia, Kazakhstan

PM2708083491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Harvest-91" rubric: "Trucks Standing Idle Again"]

[Text] Today we publish a situation report on the progress of the harvest as of yesterday obtained from the headquarters of the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry motor transport battalions.

A total of 74 motor transport battalions (37,000 trucks) were working.

In the RSFSR the figure was 62 motor transport battalions (31,000 trucks).

In the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] the figure was 12 motor transport battalions (6,000 trucks).

A total of 5.822 million tonnes of agricultural freight, including 3.124 million tonnes of grain, have been transported.

The figure for the RSFSR is 5.695 million tonnes, including 3.073 million tonnes of grain.

The figure for Kazakhstan stands at 127,000 tonnes, including 51,000 tonnes of grain.

The idle time of USSR Defense Ministry motor transport due to lack of freight remains great. Yesterday 8,547 trucks were idle.

In Kustanay oblast 1,008 out of 2,000 trucks were not working.

In Orenburg oblast the figure was 819 out of 3,500.

In Kursk oblast the figure was 536 out of 1,500.

Agricultural Developments for 20-26 August

LD2708023191

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR from 20 to 26 August. Source and GMT time of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

20 August

Cereals are being harvested in the north of Kazakhstan. In Tselinograd, Kokchetav, and Kustanay oblasts so far the average yield is no more than (?five) quintals/hectare [q/ha].

In the Altay, harvesting of corn for silage has started. It covers more than 500,000 ha. The harvest is low in the steppe areas because of the dry summer; in the central and foothill areas where there has been rain, the green mass is good. Areas where early ripening corn was planted have produced cobs. This will produce good nutritive fodder.

Sowing of winter crops has started in the Altay. It is intended to sow rye and wheat on an area of more than 250,000 ha. Yields from them are higher than spring crops, thanks to use of highly productive varieties.

In the Ukraine, one elevator in Dnepropetrovsk oblast contains only 20,000 tonnes of grain, although harvesting of early spring crops is over. Most of it is in the farms' own storehouses. Some are holding it back in order to feed their herds, among other reasons. But grain has gotten wet in the rains and will start rotting. In Dnepropetrovsk oblast as a whole only 700,000 tonnes has been sold, which is 200,000 tonnes short of the contract agreements.

In Lithuania nearly one-third of the grain harvest has been cut. On average 32.8 q/ha is being threshed. (Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian, 1200)

The grain growers of the Altay have started harvesting the spring wheat. The main mass of wheat fields in the kray is sown with strong, hearty, valuable varieties. It will not be easy to gather in the harvest. The summer drought has had an effect on the crops in the steppe zone, they are stunted; but on many farms the grain is not bad.

A thousand combine harvesters and vehicles, which they have not really managed to involve in the harvest, are out of action. Siberia's main granary does not have gasoline, and there is a shortage of diesel fuel. Those same suppliers of the petroleum products' association of Krasnoyarsk and Chelyabinsk are letting them down. If the situation regarding combustible materials and lubricants does not improve in the next few days, then the harvest in the Altay may be lost. You see, the end of August and the start of September is a rainy period here. The grain is lying idle not only in the windrows, but as standing grain as well. (Moscow All- Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian, 1500)

Two rayons in Volnian oblast have started to deliver grain in excess of the state order. In all, farms of the oblast have sold the state a quantity amounting to 84 percent of the plan. The deliveries of grain continue.

Grain growers of Sumy oblast delivered almost four times the amount of grain envisaged by the plan to granaries of Ukraine, which amounts to 90,000 tonnes. (Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian, 1500)

21-22 August

No fileworthy items monitored.

23 August

According to the information given by the State Committee for Milled and Hulled Products, 8,702,000 tonnes of grain of this year's harvest have been delivered to the [Ukraine] republic's granaries by 22 August; this amounts to slightly more than 50 percent. Grain growers of Ravno and Transcarpathia oblasts have already fulfilled the state order for grain delivery. Volhniya, Lvov, and Zhitomir oblasts are close to fulfilling it. (Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian, 0500)

The speed of the sale of grain to the state is very low. Suffice it to say that commodity grain makes up only 22 percent whereas last year it was 30 percent. Especially low speed of sale of grain to the state is seen in Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. For example, this republic has already threshed 871,000 tonnes of grain but it has sold to the state reserves only 83 [thousand]. Or take the Republic of Moldova: Having threshed more than 1.5 million tonnes of grain, it has sold to the state reserves 216,000 tonnes. One can bring forward more of such examples.

However, there are some setting good examples. Such oblasts as Bryansk, Kirov, Nizhniy Novgorod, Penza, Mariyskaya, and Mordovskaya have already fulfilled the standard food tax and are continuing to sell grain to the state to fulfill state orders

The farms and holdings of the Ravna oblast have fulfilled the sale of grain according to the state order. More than 120,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to assembly points.

In Azerbaijan, road-builders have helped the farms by building reliable roads for the delivery of the harvest to elevators and assembly points. (Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian, 1200)

24 August

The Ivanovo oblast harvest is going quite well compared with last year and with neighboring oblasts. Grain has been harvested on almost 55 percent of the total area, and the oblast has completed grain deliveries required by the "food tax". Unfortunately, the fields are very damp; it is raining several times a day. The moisture content of the grain is as high as 30 percent and in places it has already penetrated the spike. In other words, this grain

will not produce good seeds. Last week the oblast was harvesting grain on 5,000 ha a day on average. During the last three rainy days, this has risen to 7,000 ha.

The other day, the RSFSR Council of Minister cut Ivanovo oblast's grain tax by 20,000 tonnes, issuing a state order for 30,000 tonnes. The price for grain supplied to the state is being doubled.

25-26 August

No fileworthy items monitored.

U.S. Assessment of Soviet Needs Discussed

914A1108B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Aug 91 p 3

[By V. Matyash: "American Experts' Assessment"]

[Text] Washington—"Soviet leadership is taking the wrong road by holding a course towards an increase in the volume of agricultural production. The key to solving the food problem is in improving the system of processing and distribution." This is the conclusion arrived at by a delegation of American experts who visited the Soviet Union at the beginning of summer, having been tasked by President Bush personally to study the state of affairs in the agrarian sector of our country.

The published report of this group shows that enormous quantities of agricultural products in the USSR perish in processing and transportation. The estimates of grain losses given by the experts are almost double those presented by Soviet statistical data. "Losses of 30 to 50 percent for some types of agricultural output between the field and the table are evidence that the heart of the food problem in the country is the distribution rather than the production," emphasizes the document. Nevertheless, the experts pointed out, in the course of the meetings with the American delegation, Soviet officials had been asking mostly for technical help and expertise in increasing agricultural production and not for elimination of "glaring shortcomings in the processing, packaging, and delivery of product to the consumer."

"In per capita calculations, Soviet agriculture produces enough food to feed the country," says the report. "In this sense, grain and meat production are on the level of West European countries. However, losses of grain total 20 to 30 percent, and for fruit and vegetables, more than 50 percent." For instance, according to calculations of the U.S. foreign agricultural service, this year 12 percent of the grain harvested in the USSR will perish because of those who are responsible for distribution, processing, and transportation of product from the fields.

An insufficient number of processing plants, irresponsible attitude towards the harvest that rots in the fields, the absence of a wholesale agrarian market, and exceedingly inefficient distribution are the "Achilles heel" of Soviet agriculture, in the opinion of American specialists. "What is needed is a clear signal from the very top of the political Olympus in regard to a continuing adherence of the Soviet Union to the market-oriented economy," conclude the experts. Otherwise, farmers will not be interested in selling their product to the central government.

According to specialists' data, this year the USSR will harvest 190 million tons of grain—20 percent less than last year. It is expected that this year's harvest will be the lowest in the last seven years.

U.S. Congress' Grain Sales Visit Postponed

914A1108C Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 3

[TASS report: "On the Issue of American Grain Deliveries"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Aug—A delegation of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress has postponed their visit to Moscow, planned for September, "until the details of the situation in the Soviet Union become more clear"; the purpose of the visit was to work out the details of American grain deliveries. U.S. House of Representatives' Agriculture Committee Chairman de la Garza expressed hope that "removal of Gorbachev will not interfere with the plans for American grain sales to the Soviet Union, which represents the largest market for the United States." "The Soviet Union is a good market for our farmers; it is also a market that is useful for utilizing our grain surplus; therefore, I hope that it will stay that way," de la Garza (a Democrat from Texas) went on to say. He was supposed to put together the work of Soviet and American agencies in Moscow regarding realization of grain credits in the amount of $1.5 billion for purchases of American grain. "We want to know precisely what the situation in the Soviet Union will be," declared the congressman.

According to Roger Runningen, representative of the Department of Agriculture, the Soviet Union has practically completed grain purchases for the current fiscal year in the amount of $600 million. It will be able to use an additional $500 million in the new fiscal year that starts on 1 October. Starting 1 February 1992, the USSR will be able to buy grain in the United States for $400 million more.

Call to Rethink Food Import Policy

914A1108A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 91 Union Edition p 2

[By B. Chernyakov and O. Ovchinnikov, research associates at ISKAN (expansion not identified) of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Events and Commentaries": "Others' Bread: The Policy of Food Imports Needs Rethinking"]

[Text] **For many years, the topic of Soviet food imports was not a subject for discussion. This is understandable: From the point of view of common sense, it is impossible**

to explain both to the outside world and to our own citizens why the country that possesses the largest land resources and the most livestock in the world is forced to import agricultural goods in such quantities.

By itself, however, food imports are not something abnormal, and, even less so, something to be ashamed of—as it often appears to be to the jingoes. There is no question that one of the ways of solving the food problem in the future will remain making up for shortfalls by buying abroad. For many years, such rich countries as Japan and many European and Mideast states have been among the largest importers of food. Even the United States—the standard of the "world of capital"—despite being a major exporter of agricultural production, has been importing many types of agricultural products for years. It is another matter, however, what, how much, and at what price it is being imported. That is, the import policy itself. This is where we discover that we are in the "virgin land."

In the beginning of the 1960's, the USSR was buying on the external market $1.2 billion worth of agricultural goods—$0.3 billion less than the value of its exports. In the beginning of the 1970's, the value of such imports was already 2.5 times higher.

The USSR entry into the world market as a major exporter (rich in oil and other raw material resources) in 1973-1974 had led to qualitative changes in the world food products trade. For instance, the world market reacted to the emergence of a wholesale buyer by changes in the assortment and volume of grain products and their sharp (almost double) increase in price. For objectivity's sake, we should note that the latter had also been caused by the increase in prices on sources of energy, and by a general increase in demand for grain.

The sharp increase in our purchases in the environment of growing prices had placed us in the category of permanent "net importers." Take 1985 as an example. Purchases of agricultural goods came to $15.9 billion, and imports exceeded exports by an enormous amount—$11.2 billion. It should be noted that this happened in the year when the country had a quite decent harvest—192 million tons. At the same time, the government purchased only 73.5 tons from kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], while buying 44.2 million tons abroad. During a period of ten years (1976-1985), 308 million tons of grain alone came to us from "over there"; this delivered to the state hard currency treasury a gigantic sum of more than $50 billion (the total value of goods and other agricultural goods purchases during the same period was even higher—$150 billion!).

Thus, the question comes up: Are the colossal imports of grain a heavy cross our country is bound to carry?

Hardly, if we take into account that our grain field is the largest in the world. By UN Food and Agriculture Organization estimates, out of all grain-producing areas in the world in the middle of the 1980's, 16 percent belonged to the USSR. For comparison: The PRC's share was 13 percent, India's, 14 percent, and the United States', 8.5 percent. At the same time, in the gross grain output, the USSR's share comprised 11 percent, while the PRC had 20 percent, and the United States, 14 percent. Nevertheless, even with a less than good harvest, our per capita consumption of grain stands at 710 kilograms. Only in the United States is this consumption higher than ours; in the West European countries it never exceeded 500 kilograms.

Also, we assign a special place to wheat in our assortment of grains. The USSR currently has the largest gross output of wheat (80 to 100 million tons) in the world: It produces 12 percent more wheat per capita than the United States and 50 percent more than the EEC countries. If we consider that we need no more than 53 million tons of wheat a year for our daily bread, the question arises: Why do we buy more and more wheat abroad even in the good harvest years?

One explanation that has currency these days is the assertion that our wheat—or, to be precise, the currently grown varieties—allegedly are not right for bread-baking. Alas, even if sometimes it is true, it is for one reason only: We do not know how to manage it properly, determine precisely how much of what we need, find proper zones for growing it, and preserve and process what is grown. Also needed are precisely calculated incentives for producing wheat of strong and durable varieties that are used for food. In this, everything is important—from the calculation of the cost effectiveness of growing it domestically in comparison with buying it abroad to the purchase of advanced industrial technologies and grain storage facilities for hard currency, which would, in the final count, free us from grain imports.

There is, however, another, and no less important, side to this problem. Truly, it does not make sense to grow more wheat than anybody else in the world, and then end up feeding half of its harvest (!) to the livestock. This is despite a well-known fact that wheat is not the best fodder.

We started combating such imbalance in fodder production sometime in the late 1960's. Since then, we have been growing 1.6 times more fodder grain; the imports, however, have grown dramatically, too. Mainly it is because of all forage grains we buy mostly corn—a fodder that, with all its merits, has a relatively low content of digestible protein.

In general, because of the lack of high-protein additives, domestic animal husbandry uses excessive amounts of fodder without getting an adequate return; it actually uses up, gratuitously, an enormous amount (about 30 to 40 million tons, or about one-third of all our fodder resources) of grain. You may notice that these figures are amazingly similar to those of the total volume of grain imports.

The situation has been known for a long time. Nevertheless, the domestic output of cultures with high protein

content is not increasing. As to the bureaucrats who determine the policy of grain imports, they keep thoughtlessly buying substantial quantities of corn, thereby aggravating the situation with fodder by worsening the already critical problem of protein shortage.

We see the solution in increasing the imports of precisely these high-protein fodders, since it is unlikely that we will be able to set up their production domestically any time soon. While buying protein fodder, however, we could considerably cut the volume of grain purchases. In this, it is important to keep in mind the shortage of domestic processing capacity, and therefore give preferences to purchases of soy oil cake—the price for which at the world market is 20 to 30 percent lower—rather than raw soy. This would allow us not only to cut expenses on imports, but also produce an additional benefit. Judge for yourself. Right now, wheat constitutes about one-third of the domestic fodder balance. By reducing excessive consumption of fodder through the use of protein additives, we would cancel part of our import expenditures by exporting wheat grain saved in this way.

Also, the grain purchase policy should be more flexible. The maximum volume of such purchases should fall on either years of poor harvest, or on years when world prices of fodder grain do not exceed the cost of producing forage grain domestically.

We also need to think seriously about optimizing purchases of fodder abroad. For instance, our calculations show that by playing on the price differential, it would have been entirely possible to obtain the same volume of nutritive substances for $16 billion instead of $20 billion. To do this, it would have been necessary to reduce the volume of purchases of corn and increase that of barley, sorghum, and oats. While these calculations are only marginally useful from the point of view of applying them to the future, it is nevertheless clear that there are considerable reserves for reducing expenditures on grain purchases. In our opinion, we should avoid entering long-term contracts—as it is currently practiced—and buy grain more often and in smaller quantities. Of course, such an approach requires high skills on the part of our foreign trade organizations, their representatives' involvement on the commodity exchanges, and a more professional analysis of the world market. In return, however, we would get tangible hard currency savings.

Of course, the grain problem, which cannot be separated from the problem of fodder production, can only be completely solved on the basis of new approaches to the organization of production and the entire domestic grain production. However, the acuteness of the situation can be reduced even today through deep analysis, expert economic evaluation of alternative options in purchases of agricultural products, and new tactics and strategy in import policy developed on this basis.

Scientific

Soviet Rocket To Launch Indian Satellite 29 Aug

LD2808085491 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuzetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Indian IRS-18 satellite will be put to orbit by a Soviet Vostok booster rocket on Thursday, a Soviet Glavkosmos spokesman told TASS.

Soviet and Indian specialists at the Baykonur launch site are completing preparations. Glavkosmos head Alexandr Dunayev has been appointed chairman of the state commission. The joint experiment is being carried out on a commercial basis.

The satellite is expected to sound the earth's surface and the ocean in the interest of the Indian economy.

Progress Spacecraft Docks With Mir Station

LD2308170191 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—A Progress M-9 cargo craft at 3:54 a.m. Moscow time on Friday docked with the Soviet orbiting station Mir in accordance with a schedule.

The craft carries materials, scientific equipment and foodstuffs for the crew of the Mir station and for three cosmonauts whose ship will blast off on October 2, 1991.

Two joint crews, one of which will join Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev, who have been working on-board the station for over three months, are now being trained at the cosmonauts' training centre.

The Progress also carries a ballistic capsule. The 350 kilogram capsule will bring to earth 150 kilograms of materials produced in space and results of scientific research.

10 Aug Chernobyl Event 'Second-Degree Incident'

PM2808094791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by V. Lyaskalo and V. Sulima, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] The mass media, in particular Russian Television's "Vesti" program, recenty reported an allegedly serious accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES]. Our correspondent in Kiev provides information.

[Lyaskalo] The Chernobyl AES chief engineer, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Sorokin, confirmed today that, in the

course of capital repairs 10 August when the reactor was being cooled, internal technological premises at the second power unit were contaminated due to the failure of a service seal [remontnaya zaglushka] on the equipment. Radioactive water did not escape outside the strict exclusion zone. Staff radiation levels are normal. In accordance with the international scale used for gauging incidents at AES, this was a second-degree incident and was not an accident. Incidentally, this international scale comprises seven degrees of incident. The accident level starts at the figure four. So, what happened at the Chernobyl AES 10 August, as the chief engineer said, was merely an incident and not an accident. Incidentally, every month the republic press publishes a report on the work of the Chernobyl AES, on all scheduled and unscheduled shutdowns and incidents. Kiev's newspapers also provided timely reports of this incident.

U.S.-Soviet Study of Ozone Layer Lauded

917Q0157A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Professor V. Zakharov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology: "The Ozone Scout"]

[Text] The words "ozone layer" sound at present like a planetary alarm. A unique and frail atmosphere which has given rise to "the mode of existence of protein bodies," which to us is our multifaceted and still surprising, largely mysterious life, is facing the threat of destruction. "A hole" in its thinnest and most sensitive cover, the ozone layer, raises many issues with regard to the further existence of our ocean of air. It is increasingly jeopardized by the industrial operations of humanity. The composition of the atmosphere is changing right before our eyes due to the discharges of gas and aerosol particles. The concentration of these poisonous emanations surpasses all acceptable limits.

However, the notorious "ozone holes" became the most acute warning to earthlings. If this is indeed a destructive process capable of causing harsh ultraviolet rays to break through, we may foresee the subsequent disruption in the condition of ecological and biological systems, as well as climatic changes and global warming, in combination with changes in the concentrations of other gases. Increased ultraviolet radiation levels unfavorably affect the health of people, primarily their immune systems, by weakening the resistance of the organism to skin tumors and infectious diseases of various kinds. The influence on the immune system depends to some degree on the skin color and place of residence.

The perception of the changes underway in the physical environment and of their global nature has resulted in international cooperation and the creation of international scientific projects for counteracting this threat.

The joint Soviet-American project Meteor 3-TOMS [Total Ozone Mapping Spectrometer] is one such project. Its implementation will make it possible to monitor and study changes in the ozone layer of the atmosphere on a global scale.

A joint statement by the presidents of the USSR and the United States, in which it was noted that studying and preserving the ozone layer is one of the priority tasks of cooperation, gave the impetus for initiating this project.

The USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology [Gosgidromet] and the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) are the leading agencies for this project.

In keeping with this project, it is planned to put yet another Soviet meteorological satellite, Meteor-3, into orbit from the Plesetsk space launch complex using our booster rocket. In addition to standard and scientific-research equipment, the TOMS spectrometer designed by NASA will be installed with a view to studying and mapping the global distribution of ozone over our planet, as well as accumulating data on its climatic variations. The project has been in preparation for more than two years, and has been implemented successfully, thanks to the striving to cooperate and the efforts of scientists, engineers, and technicians, primarily of the USSR Gosgidromet, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making, the USSR Ministry of Defense, and the U.S. NASA.

During this period of time, a number of meetings between Soviet and American specialists have been held, which made it possible to resolve organizational, scientific, and technical issues of compatibility of the TOMS device with the on-board system of the Meteor space vehicle, telemetry, equipment for the collection and discharge of information to acceptance centers located on the territories of the USSR and the United States, and processing and exchange of information.

These meetings have also made it possible for the specialists of the two countries to learn more about the issues and prospects for building satellite instruments, creating artificial satellites of Earth for hydrometeorological and geophysical research, and the organization of services for launching and controlling space vehicles. The main point is that these meetings reinforced their confidence in each other.

It should be noted that cooperation between the scientists of the USSR and the United States in the sphere of studying variations in the ozone layer dates back several years. Joint and international seminars have been held, programs have been implemented to study the ozone layer in the Arctic and the Antarctic using laboratory planes, Soviet ground instrumentation, and American ozone probes on balloons at Soviet aerological stations at Hays Island Franz-Iosef Land, and in the Antarctic at Mirnyy station.

The TOMS spectrometer is a second-generation satellite instrument. Its performance is superior to that of instruments previously used on Soviet and American satellites. It measures the content of ozone by comparing

descending solar radiation and that reflected by the surface of Earth on six wavelengths in the band of 310 to 380 nanometer.

After drawing up global maps of ozone content, the most important task of the scientists is to determine to what degree changes in the ozone content are associated with activities of human origin, in particular, with the production and consumption of chlorofluorocarbons, to what degree they depend on natural geophysical and hydrometeorological conditions (solar activity, circumpolar vortexes, and so on), which is very important for adopting a further strategy for reducing the production and use of ozone-destroying compounds by humanity within the framework of the Vienna Conference on Protecting the Ozone Layer and the Montreal Protocol on the conference.

Before the development of satellite instruments for measuring ultraviolet radiation and ozone, these parameters were studied at ground stations using Dobson spectrofotometers (so named in honor of a scientist who was a pioneer in the area of ozone study) or instruments produced mainly in Canada and the Soviet Union. Despite their reliability, these data are insufficient because ozone is measured only immediately above the stations; the latter are situated mainly in the medium latitudes of the Northern hemisphere. However, ground stations are necessary for calibrating and tying in the data received from the artificial satellites of Earth because measurements taken there are more precise and make it possible to track variations in ozone during the course of a day.

The employment of TOMS is also useful for monitoring sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere. The compilation of these maps makes it possible to observe the volcanoes of the world regularly and to measure sulfurous discharges during their eruptions. A sequence of such observations over several decades will make it possible to come up with a more accurate estimate of the contribution of a stream of volcanic sulfur into the overall balance of sulfurous compounds in the atmosphere.

The implementation of the Meteor 3-TOMS project will become the largest USSR and U.S. project in space since the Soyuz-Apollo program. It is an example of mutual cooperation between the two countries in the interest of the world community.

Military

Documents Show Moiseyev Supporting Role in Coup

PM2308190091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition pp 1, 3

[Feature comprising documents dated 19 and 20 August, signed respectively by M. Moiseyev; Maryashin, first deputy chief of the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate; and Lieutenant General Voronin, chief of the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate; with introduction by IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Reznik in Khabarovsk, under the rubric "Who's Kto [Kto Yest Who], As Gorbachev Said"— "Mikhail Moiseyev Supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency. And Now—Head of the Defense Ministry?"]

[Text] [Reznik introduction] Khabarovsk—On the morning of 23 August I was asked to meet with the chief of the cipher service of a subunit of the Far Eastern Military District. He said that the troops had received an oral directive from the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate urgently to destroy all top secret documents relating to the putsch. This officer had managed to take copies of some of them, which he handed to me. I had the opportunity to check the copies against the originals. The registration numbers are reproduced at the end of each document.

I think these materials are of enormous interest to readers. What lies behind them is a chronicle of how the coup d'etat was carried out and backed up.

[Document signed by M. Moiseyev] **To USSR deputy ministers of defense, group commanders in chief and the Far East commander in chief, commanders of military districts and fleets, the commander of airborne troops, and chiefs of main and central directorates of the USSR Defense Ministry.**

On 19 August 1991, with a view to overcoming the profound and all-around crisis, political, interethnic, and civil confrontation, chaos, and anarchy which threaten the lives and safety of citizens of the Soviet Union and the sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom, and independence of our Fatherland, in certain localities in the USSR a state of emergency has been imposed, and a State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in the USSR has been formed.

The measures adopted are meeting with support in the majority of union and autonomous republics. The first reaction from abroad to events in our country is also characterized by a certain understanding and support. No serious excesses have been observed anywhere. In defiance of USSR SCSE resolutions, however, decrees, directives, appeals, and information are being sent en masse to regions of our country and abroad from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and other oppositionist and destructive forces, demanding the blocking and nonfulfillment of the measures announced by the SCSE to stabilize the situation in the country.

In violation of the USSR Constitution, B.N. Yeltsin has proclaimed himself supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR, and Colonel General K. Kobets has been appointed chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense

Questions with powers in all matters relating to all aspects of the activity of the Armed Forces.

With a view to feeding disinformation to the population and troops, wide use is made of false rumors and the most improbable fabrications about supposed instances of units and subunits of the Soviet Army and Navy going over to the side of the RSFSR leadership in support of its actions, and also about a general strike by entire regions. At present the situation in the districts and fleets is under control. With a view to consolidating all society's healthy forces to preserve the Union, the USSR defense minister has ordered:

The work of explaining to servicemen and employees of the Soviet Army and the local population the true intentions of the opposition, which are aimed at supplying disinformation, splitting society, destabilizing the situation in the country, and compromising the Army and bringing about its disintegration, is to be stepped up sharply. Resolute measures are to be adopted to stop any campaigning among servicemen and prevent agitators and provocateurs from penetrating military units, institutions, and ships.

With a view to closing channels of information and agitation directed against the measures adopted by the SCSE, all facilities providing technical means of transmitting information are to be accounted for and if necessary put under guard, regardless of their departmental affiliation (television, radio, audio broadcasting stations, the means of communications of the Ministry of Railways and the hydrometeorological service, control centers of subway systems, taxicab depots, and so forth).

Maximum use is to be made of all means and methods of work to explain the correctness of the measures being implemented by the SCSE to stabilize the situation in the country, and also to educate personnel in the spirit of patriotism and their responsibility for the Soviet Union's fate. A high degree of combat readiness is to be constantly maintained in units and subunits to resolve tasks under state of emergency conditions and in emergency situations.

[Signed] M. Moiseyev. 312/27 20 August 1991

[Document signed by Maryashin] To chiefs of military-political organs

I convey to you a directive of the **chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate**, and I demand that it be adopted for strict fulfillment: By order of the USSR defense minister, in connection with the deteriorating domestic political situation in the country, formations, combined units, units, and institutions of all branches of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the USSR are placed on enhanced combat readiness. We instruct that:

1. Military-political organs are to organize work according to enhanced combat readiness plans, identify the distribution of forces and resources, and set tasks and determine a work regime for the apparatus in the developing situation. Chiefs of military-political organs (deputies for military-political work) for large units and above are to be recalled from leave.

2. Military-political organs are to concentrate particular attention and efforts on maintaining political stability among Armed Forces personnel and rallying them on the basis of the ideas of preserving the USSR, the reliable defense of the Fatherland, and loyalty to their constitutional duty. Every serviceman is to be made profoundly aware of the full importance and urgency of the present moment, his personal responsibility for the Motherland's fate, and the need for the utmost vigilance, calm, and restraint. They must not yield to possible provocations.

3. The following are deemed priority tasks in military-political work:

—maintaining a high level of organization and law and order in the troops and fleets and preventing absences without leave and deaths and injury among servicemen;
—ensuring a reliable guard on missile forces' positions, arsenals, bases and stockpiles for the storage of nuclear and conventional munitions, arms, combat equipment, depots, airfields, and military camps;
—stepping up efforts in gathering the harvest, the procurement of all types of vegetables and material and technical resources, and all-around preparations for the winter.

4. Wide-ranging work is to be launched to interpret to servicemen, workers and employees, and their families the Soviet leadership statement, the appeal to the Soviet people, and the documents adopted by the USSR SCSE, drawing particular attention to their role in the present situation in the USSR and their special significance in ensuring the safeguarding of public order and the security of the state, society, and citizens in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency" and resolutions of the USSR SCSE.

5. Collaboration is to be organized with healthy forces in republic and local organs of power, the CPSU, the KGB and law enforcement organs, and sociopolitical associations supporting the USSR Constitution and efforts to restore the rule of law and law and order in the country. There is to be active participation in clarifying the measures adopted by the USSR SCSE and exposing the actions of destructive forces in the labor collectives and among students.

Reports on the developing situation and the military-political work done are to be presented according to the established procedure to the operations group of the district Military-Political Directorate at 0600, 1200, 1800, and 2200, and written reports on concrete measures in connection with enhanced combat readiness are to be submitted by 25 August 1991.

No. 18/2021/35-39

30 August 1991 [date as published]

[Signed] Maryashin (first deputy chief of the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate—B. Reznik's note)

[Document signed by Lieutenant General Voronin] To commanding officers and chiefs of military-political organs

In connection with the sociopolitical situation that has arisen in the country and the publication of the decree on forming the USSR SCSE, I demand:

1. That all military-political organs form groups to collect and summarize information on the spot and establish round-the-clock manning of the said groups, beginning at 1200 Moscow time, 19 August 1991.

2. That the collection and summarization of information be organized on the following questions:

—work done by the command and the military-political organs to interpret and convey government documents to servicemen and their families;
—the attitude of servicemen (officers, warrant officers, soldiers, and sergeants) to the situation in the country and the region and their reaction to government statements and documents;
—peculiarities of the political situation in the regions where the troops under their jurisdiction are stationed, the nature of the activity of various political parties, sociopolitical movements, and organizations, and their reaction to the SCSE's actions;
—analysis of the activity of local and regional mass media, particularly newspapers;
—attitude of the local population to servicemen and to organs of power and local administration;
—attitude to forthcoming and current events among foreign citizens present in the region for whatever reason, including those working under contract at industrial and agricultural facilities.

3. That the activity of radio networks and the use of copying equipment and relay equipment belonging to the troops be taken under strict control. That internal army newspapers publish in full statements of the Soviet leadership and appeals to the Soviet people by the USSR SCSE. That they be guided in their work by the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime of the State of Emergency of 3 April 1990 (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for 10 April 1990).

Summarized information is to be submitted to the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate four times a day at 0400, 1000, 1600, and 2000 Moscow time—or in the event of an emergency, immediately.

[Signed] Chief of the Far Eastern Military District Military-Political Directorate,

Lieutenant General Voronin.

No. 18/2021/33,

19 August 1991.

Air Defense Forces Commander, Officials Meet

LD2408191991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Reliable sources told the Russian Information Agency that General Ivan Tretyak, commander-in-chief of the country's air defense forces, held a conference on the morning of 24 August, in which Colonel General Maltsev, chief of general staff, participated. The latter was one of the organizers of the blockade on President Gorbachev in the Crimea. Generals Boyko and (Timokhin) and other military leaders participated in the conference. More than half of those who met are suspected of organizing last week's putsch.

Shaposhnikov Discusses Defense After Coup

Lauds Grachev Support During Coup

OW2808072591 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interview with Colonel General Y.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, by special correspondent Boris Smirnov; from the "Serving the Fatherland" program—recorded]

[Text] [Smirnov] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, when you learned about the attempted coup, what did you do? [video shows Smirnov interviewing Shaposhnikov in an office]

[Shaposhnikov] My main task was to prevent bloodshed, to prevent exacerbation of the situation, and to ensure that the Air Force and the Armed Forces did not take part in some kind of anticonstitutional actions. I took the corresponding measures. I outlined the corresponding tasks and during the first 24 hours I sought contacts with other leaders of the military department from the point of view of finding people of a similar bent in order to undertake some kind of counteractions.

During the first 24 hours I found nobody, or possibly everyone was being very cautious. Anyway, there were no grounds to rely on anyone. On the second day I personally spoke to former Defense Minister Yazov about having to withdraw honorably from the situation that had taken shape. He asked me: How? I said: There is a chance to withdraw the troops—this was on the afternoon of the 20th—there is a chance to declare this so-called committee to be illegal, to transfer power to the Supreme Soviet, and to bring back the president of our country. Comrade Yazov said he would give it some thought, but there was no response.

At the same time there was talk that an assault on our Russian White House may begin. I reassured our Russians and told them that no actions would be taken by the Air Force and that I would try to see to it that the same thing could be said about the Armed Forces. Now

at this critical moment, when very little time remained, I realized that General Grachev, commander of the Airborne troops, was my ally. Together with him we worked out a plan of action that envisioned several options. After this we again assured Russia that no actions would be taken. We had a number of options, but I will not report on them here.

On the next day, the 21st, the Collegium of the Ministry of Defense met, and at this meeting Yazov was told that by a decision of the collegium the troops should be withdrawn. He agreed with the collegium's decision and brought the matter up before the committee [State Committee for the Emergency Situation], and after this the situation stabilized, so to speak.

[Smirnov] How did you feel about this coup or attempted coup as a human being and as a citizen?

[Shaposhnikov] As a person and citizen I absolutely could not understand what it was all about. I can only assess it as an unlawful action of some group of people. I cannot understand why it was organized. It was based on all kinds of lies, blackmail, intimidation, and so on and so forth. It is completely unacceptable in the kind of state that we want to build, in a rule-of-law state. I think that since 1985 our lives have resembled a kind of torrent comprised of many streams which has now turned into a powerful flood. Now this miserable bunch of people rose up in its path only to be swept away by this genuinely democratic torrent. [video shows defenders of the RSFSR government building manning barricades, then cuts back to office interview.

[Smirnov] I know that this morning you submitted two statements, one about leaving the [CPSU] Central Committee, the second about leaving the ranks of the CPSU. Why did you do this?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, there were grounds for this. First of all, one side of the matter is that nonparty man Yeltsin turned out to be a very courageous person by standing on an armored personnel carrier and appealing to Russians to support democracy, appealing to Russians for a return of the country's real president. Second, Rutskoy, who was dismissed from the party—mistakenly I believe—did the same. But I did not see any members of the Central Committee of our party, which was unfortunate.

So roughly this is one position. But a more profound position lies in the fact that in my opinion such administrative structures as the Army, the KGB, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] must be above any parties and above any political groupings. They should be subordinate to the Constitution, they should be subordinate to the president, and they should serve only their fatherland. The current task of all commanders is to see that our Soviet people understand that in this tragic episode the Armed Forces showed themselves to have lofty qualities. There were no excesses, there were no changes of any kinds of authorities. The Armed Forces essentially did not take part actively in any acts of violence.

Of course I would like to express regret over the death of Moscow residents. This was a tragic episode, of course, and I express my condolences to all the relatives, friends, and near ones of those who perished. At the same time it was our main task to prevent this from happening on a mass scale. The Armed Forces turned out to be just like the Soviet people; in other words, they were no longer the way they were before 1985. This was another thing that the putschists did not understand.

Discusses Armed Forces Reforms

LD2708153391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Radio Moscow's military correspondent Colonel (Ivan Vladimirov) has interviewed the newly appointed defense minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who succeeds Marshal Dmitriy Yazov, dismissed for his participation in the anti-constitutional coup to oust the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Colonel General of the Air Force Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov turned his back on the plotters, and the Air Force stayed loyal to the legal authorities. The president has promoted Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to Marshal of the Air Force.

Radio Moscow's correspondent asked the new defense minister about the reforms he was going to carry out in the military sphere. He said: The Defense Ministry is going to change a great deal. We already have the concepts of priority objectives and long-term plans. Together with the new chief of the General Staff and other senior officers, I have already begun to translate these ideas into reality.

The most important thing today is to determine the status of the Soviet Army in the territory of those republics which have declared their state sovereignty. This is the No. 1 problem. The second problem, whose solution brooks no delay is Nagorno-Karabakh. I believe there is nothing the Soviet Army can do about it. There are the law enforcement bodies and the legislative structures responsible for settling the conflict. Besides, reforms in the armed forces proper are high on the agenda. They can continue only after the two problems already mentioned have been resolved. The future reforms will affect arms and services and the system of training.

Party structures are likely to be abolished. They will be replaced with special (?psychological) education services. Besides, the question of turning the Army into a professional one, a great controversy until recently, will have the attention it deserves.

I believe that we have come close to turning the Army into a professional one but we should be in no hurry. First there must be thorough sociological studies and financial computations, he said.

Rules Out Split in Nuclear Forces

LD2708171891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who is also aviation marshal, has ruled out the possibility of a split of the national nuclear forces. The minister has said these forces will remain at the disposal of the central command. In an interview with the French paper LE FIGARO, he said the ground forces are likely to become the exclusive command of republics, but everybody must understand it is impermissible to inflate the number of nuclear nations. Marshal Shaposhnikov said that a possibility for uncontrolled uses of nuclear forces was ruled out as soon as the coup began, and he doesn't see a danger of this kind in the future. [passage omitted]

Sees No Change in Defense Doctrine

OW2608181491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "There will be no changes in the defence doctrine adopted by the Soviet leadership", new Soviet Defence Minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov told an "INTERFAX" correspondent.

Shaposhnikov stressed that all agreements and treaties concluded before the putsch will be honoured to the letter, adding that it was an important mark of trust.

The minister reported that the Latvian and Ukrainian leaders, Anatoliy Gorbunov and Leonid Kravchuk, had accepted the necessity of Soviet troops maintaining a presence in their republics, but wanted to sign an agreement regulating relations between the Soviet Army and the republics. "We have already begun preliminary talks on the conditions of Soviet Army presence in the republics after they have legally seceded from the Union", announced Shaposhnikov. He added that the whole of the Soviet Army, not just strategic forces, would be taken into consideration.

He insisted that in the future the Soviet Army would under no circumstances be used against the people and this, he said, should be prohibited by law.

The minister rejected a suggestion that former Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov resigned during the putsch. "Yazov continued working right up until his arrest", said Shaposhnikov.

Taman Division Commander Summoned to Ministry

LD2708082491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Valeriy Marchenkov, commander of the Taman tank division, has been summoned to the USSR Defense Ministry in connection with the events in Moscow during the putsch. During these events some of the division under his command was involved in clashes with Muscovites in the Sadovoye Beltway and Novyy Arbat areas, which resulted in fatalities. Valeriy Marchenkov hopes that he can present the necessary documents to vindicate him, the Russian Information Agency notes.

New Chief of Staff Lobov Interviewed

Discusses Armed Forces

LD2708092391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Aug (TASS)—"The USSR Armed Forces are an inalienable part of the Soviet people. They are true to their constitutional duty, to the USSR president and to the fatherland," stated Army General Vladimir Lobov, the new Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He gave an interview today to a TASS correspondent upon assuming his duties.

Not long ago, 56-year-old General Lobov was chief of staff of the combined armed forces of Warsaw Pact member-states. More recently, he was head of the Frunze Military Academy. He is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs and a doctor of military sciences. He supports the implementation of profound military reform and radical transformations in the USSR Armed Forces. "The process of implementing miltary reform and, within this framework, the process of transforming the USSR Armed Forces, will be speeded up in order to give it new quality," said the general.

"The chief efforts of the leadership of the USSR Armed Forces must be directed toward avoiding war, and toward ensuring a high level of combat readiness of troops and a reliable defense of the country based on the principles of sufficiency," Vladimir Lobov emphasized. It is necessary to carry out certain rearrangements in the leading personnel of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff in the near future, he considers.

According to the Army general, commanders at all levels of the Army and Navy are faced with complicated and largely innovative tasks in the conditions of the continuing process of democratization of Soviet society and of departyization in state structures. "At the moment," he said, "it is important to step up work to consolidate military collectives, first and foremost the officer collectives." In Vladimir Lobov's view, the role of officers' assemblies and other democratic institutions of the Army and Navy rises sharply today in ensuring that troops' combat readiness is at a high level, that their training is of the proper quality, and their personnel are educated.

At the conclusion of the interview, the chief of the general staff noted that it is necessary to continue strengthening contacts and links along military lines with all states.

Control of Nuclear Arms During Coup

LD2808125191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—"The strategic nuclear forces of the Soviet Union (missile troops, nuclear fleet, strategic aircraft) as well as the tactical nuclear weapons of the ground forces, were and still are under strict and constant control both during the well-known events in the USSR and after them," stated Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. He was interviewed by a TASS correspondent in connection with various conjectures in the West about a breach in control of USSR strategic nuclear systems by members of the junta during the failed coup d'etat.

Vladimir Lobov stressed that the prevention of unauthorized use of nuclear weapons is "guaranteed by the appropriate technical and organizational measures within the system of managing the strategic nuclear forces as well as by reliable guarding and defense of nuclear munitions and systems for their delivery."

Defense Ministry Denies Moiseyev's Suicide

OW2708170391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A ranking officer at the USSR Defense Ministry has dismissed as misinformation the report about the suicide of Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, ex-head of the Soviet General Staff. At 16:40 on Tuesday [1340 GMT] he told IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter over the phone that "two minutes ago I had a telephone conversation with General Moiseyev."

The rumors about Moiseyev's suicide were denied also by the press service of the USSR president and the press center of the USSR Defense Ministry.

Black Sea Fleet To Remain Under Center

OW2708205691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vitaliy Larionov, first deputy commander of the Black Sea fleet, has told IF [INTERFAX] that his fleet intends to remain under the control of the USSR administration.

He said all talk of the fleet's re-subordination to either the Ukraine or Russia would be irrelevant, since its ships are stationed in four republics' ports.

Army Intelligence Chief Denies Coup Involvement

PM2708100891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Army General Vladlen Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate, by A. Korzun; date and place not specified: "The Main Intelligence Directorate: Was It Not There, Did It Not Participate, Was It Not Involved?" Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United."]

[Text] "I received no commands or instructions whatsoever from the General Staff or directly from the 'eight' about dispatching intelligence and special-purpose units to Moscow during the three days of the putsch," Army General Vladlen Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU], told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA during an interview.

Called back from leave on 19 August, General Mikhaylov, according to his own account, spent 20 and 21 August in his office.

"We had a calm atmosphere, we were engaged, as usual, in our intelligence activity. But outside the Soviet Union, of course, rather than inside—that is not our duty."

Were GRU special-purpose units, stationed in all USSR military districts, activated by the putschists? Vladlen Mikhaylov answered that he kept in constant contact with the command of those units, which had, like the whole Army, been put on combat readiness. But he was unaware of any movement of GRU subunits.

For his part, Army General Mikhaylov gave assurances that the GRU took no initiative in the use of its units: "And I really do not have the right to redeploy them from military districts."

Varying Responses of Far East Air Defense Staff

PM2708112391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[B. Reznik report under "Seven Days After" rubric: "Such Different Generals"]

[Text] The command of the Far East Air Defense Army ignored the instructions of Army General I. Tretyak, its commander in chief, to support actively the putschists and "organize cooperation with healthy forces of local organs of power." And it has to be said that they gave a

cool reception to the Air Defense Forces Military Council's appeal consisting of nothing but heartrending appeals—"Today such an hour has struck for each of us; to use Lenin's words, delay spells death": They read it and left it in the cipher clerks' files.

Major Gen. V. Yepifanov, chief of the army's political department, acted differently. He demanded that the appeal be published in the army newspaper NA STRAZHE RODINY.

On the very first day of the putsch I spoke with Colonel Gen. Viktor Novozhilov, commander of the Far East Military District. I asked whether he, in fulfilling the orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, would really send troops against his own people.

"Never," Viktor Ivanovich replied. "This is an adventure which is doomed to fail."

It has now become clear that Gen. Novozhilov did not convey the majority of the orders issued by the junta to the troops and kept them "under wraps." On the other hand, the district's political organs once again displayed striking activeness. IZVESTIYA (No. 201) published top-secret documents in support of the putschists signed by Lieutenant Gen. A. Voronin, chief of the Far East Military District Military-Political Directorate (incidentally, a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy), and by Maj. Gen. [initial illegible] Maryashin, his deputy. They, so it turned out, played their own game, not even notifying the district command of the steps being taken.

Prosecutor Trubin Cited on Akhromeyev Suicide

PM2708104691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[Unattributed report citing USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin: "Suicide of Marshal Akhromeyev." Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] As people will be aware, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev has committed suicide.

For details on this we turned on Sunday morning to USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin. He reported that the 68-year-old marshal of the Soviet Union, who had until 1988 headed the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and was recently personal military adviser to USSR President Gorbachev, hanged himself in his Kremlin office on Saturday, at around 1000. But his body was only discovered 12 hours later, at 2200.

One can only guess at the reasons for Akhromeyev's suicide. There has thus far been no information in the press about direct involvement by him in the attempted coup d'etat. The USSR general prosecutor reported, however, that the preliminary testimonies of persons implicated in the putsch refer to Akhromeyev as a participant. However, only investigation will give a definitive answer to this question.

As has become known, several notes to his family and certain friends to be read after his death were found in Akhromeyev's office. Their content is as yet unknown. But in one of them the marshal wrote that "everything which I have devoted my whole life to building is collapsing."

Volga-Urals Chief Hit 'Indecision Over Yeltsin'

PM2708160791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Makashov: 'Why Pussyfoot Around Yeltsin?'"]

[Text] The editorial office has received a copy of decrypted message No. 210419, from the Volga-Urals Military District. Here is the text of it:

"State Committee for the State of Emergency, the Kremlin, Moscow:

"The Military Council and troops of the Volga-Urals Military District, true to their patriotic duty to the homeland, salute and support the committee's actions.

"At the same time, they are concerned about the indecision over Yeltsin and his entourage.

"It is like prolonging death.

"We believe a state of emergency should be introduced in Samara and Sverdlovsk."

The message was signed by [Volga-Urals Military District Commander] Colonel General Makashov, Lieutenant General Mayorov, Lieutenant General Konstantinov, and Major General Aleksandrenko [last three named officers not further identified].

Eleven copies of the telegram were sent, one each to Yazov (copy no. 1), Moiseyev (copy no. 2), Kochetov (copy no. 3), Shlyaga (copy no. 4), Achalov (copy no. 5), Baklanov (copy no. 6), Kryuchkov (copy no. 7), Pavlov (copy no. 8), Pugo (copy no. 9), Yanayev (copy no. 10), and Shenin (copy no. 11).

Admiral Says Pacific Fleet Loyal During Coup

LD2808040991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The Pacific Fleet did not support the SCSE [State Committee for the State Emergency], Admiral Khvatov has stated. Speaking at an extraordinary session of the Maritime Kray Soviet, Vice Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov, commander of the Pacific Ocean Fleet, said that the fleet was indeed placed on a state of heightened alert. He refuted claims of the seamen's complicity in carrying out the decisions of the SCSE.

We were not planning to act against our people and were ready to defend the USSR's borders in connection with possible international repercussions, the commander of the fleet said. We coordinated our actions with the leadership of the city soviet which declared its support for the actions of the president of the RSFSR. [passage indistinct]

Reports Continue on Independence Recognition

EC Recognizes Independence

LD2808095591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0930 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The European Community has recognized the independence of the three Baltic republics. A decision on this was made at an emergency session of the EC Council in Brussels on Tuesday held at the level of foreign ministers of the EC countries. Those taking part in the meeting are also discussing the expansion of economic assistance to the Soviet Union following the failure of the coup d'etat.

Documents on Norway Ties Signed

LD2708121891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1047 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Neshumov]

[Text] Oslo, 27 August (TASS)—A ceremony at which documents were signed renewing diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Norway and the Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia took place today in the Norwegian capital.

The documents bore the signatures of Thorvald Stoltenburg, Norwegian foreign minister, and the heads of the foreign policy departments of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia who arrived in Oslo for a short visit today. The declarations say that in order to further develop relations of friendship and cooperation the sides have agreed to renew diplomatic relations based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs.

During their stay in Oslo the Baltic republics' foreign ministers will meet the Norwegian political leadership and representatives of parliament before flying to Germany.

Europe Moves Toward Recognition

PM2708131891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Hungary Recognize Baltic Republics' Independence. Will They Be Followed by the FRG?"]

[Text] On Saturday evening and Sunday morning the second subject carried in foreign mass media reports and commentaries, after that of M.S. Gorbachev's resignation as CPSU general secretary, was the subject of the Baltic republics' independence and the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Whereas some news organs claim that the Soviet Union is disintegrating, others warn that definitive conclusions are premature.

"We are not the only ones to be unable to say precisely now who will be in power in the future—specialists in the USSR are also incapable of doing this," M. Albright, a Sovietologist from the Center for National Policy, indicated. "At present I can only give the U.S. Administration one absolutely accurate prediction: The luxury of dealing with only one authority in the USSR has become a thing of the past never to return." "Gorbachev's renowned 'balanced approach' is no longer possible," P. Rodman, former U.S. National Security Council staffer, stressed. "We are now dealing with a totally unbalanced system the main power over which is held by reformers and Russia." "The West's last source of antagonism has become a thing of the past," D. Si [name as transliterated], a leader of the Heritage Foundation, said. "Instead of the USSR the free world will now be dealing with a very democratic community of nations striving to cooperate."

The process of the outside world's giving official recognition to Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian independence has begun. Iceland was the first to recognize these republics. Denmark, Norway, and Hungary have stated their recognition and intention to establish diplomatic relations with them. The question of recognizing the Baltic republics' independence will be considered at an FRG Government session on Wednesday, while the FRG has suggested that all EC member countries recognize the three republics' independence. The same appeal has come from Belgium. Voices in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania can also be heard in Bulgaria.

27 Countries Tallied

OW2708172891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Estonian Foreign Ministry's press service, by today's morning [as received], 27 countries have expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Iceland, Denmark and Argentina have already appointed their representatives in the Baltics. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Great Britain, France, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania and Malta have announced their decision to establish diplomatic ties with the Baltic states. Japan, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are prepared to discuss the issue. Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Canada, Austria, Portugal and Germany have announced similar plans.

At a meeting in the Hague today the E.C. foreign ministers are expected to discuss the recognition of the Baltics.

Baltics May Take Part in 1992 Olympic Games

OW2708183491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Lithuanian radio, President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Antonio

Samaranch said that the Baltics may become members of the IOC and take part in the 1992 Olympic games in Barcelona (Spain).

Estonia

Swedish Embassy in Estonia To Open 29 Aug

OW2708200991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As BF [BALTFAX] learned from well-informed sources at the Estonian Foreign Ministry, a high-ranking Swedish official, supposedly, Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, is due to arrive in Tallinn Thursday to attend the opening ceremony of the Swedish Embassy in Estonia.

USSR Agrees To CSCE Observer Status

OW2608204691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, Vladimir Petrovsky, has announced that the Soviet side agrees to Estonia being accorded observer status at the CSCE Human Dimension Conference opening in Moscow in September. He informed Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister, Rein Mullerson, of the decision at a meeting in Moscow on Monday. However, Mr. Petrovsky said that such a decision could only be taken with the approval of the other 35 CSCE participant countries.

During the meeting Mullerson told Petrovsky of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Baltic republics and several foreign states and of the scale of this process. For his part, Mr. Petrovsky congratulated Mr. Mullerson on the reestablishment of Estonian independence.

On the evening of 26th August a meeting took place between Rein Mullerson and the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Kozyrev, and his deputies. During the meeting the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was discussed.

Lack of Support, 'Tension Remains' in Northeast

LD2808083891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet opened in Tallinn today. The parliament will acquaint itself with the results of the work of special commissions on eliminating the consequences of the 19 August coup d'etat and will discuss the situation. Some tension remains just in the northeast, where the local authorities in the towns of Narva, Sillamae, and Kohtla-Jarve have not supported the decision of the Supreme Soviet on the state independence of Estonia, adopted on 20 August. Minister Tiit Vahi, plenipotentiary representative of the government in the northeast, thinks the situation may stabilize after new elections of local authorities in that area.

KGB Suspends Activities; Branches 'Sealed Up'

OW2708200191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chief of the Estonian KGB Rein Sillar told BF [BALTFAX] that his organization had suspended activities by decision of the Estonian government taken on August 26. Sillar says only the government hot line and the enciphering service continue to operate.

The KGB has preserved archives containing 19,500 dossiers. However, Sillar evaded a question if it has some other documents.

Sillar pointed out that Estonia "by no means will receive the lists of KGB servicemen". "None of the secret services ever provides such data", he noted.

By now all the KGB branches in Estonian cities have been sealed up. The KGB building in Tallinn is guarded by the Estonian police. A throng reportedly gathered near it today in the morning.

Chairman of the governmental commission for liquidation of the KGB in Estonia, mayor of Tallinn Hardo Aasmae told Estonian radio that the main task of his commission is to preserve the KGB archives.

'Radical' Nationalists Storm Communist Building

OW2708200591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tallinn police prefect Raik Saart told BF [BALTFAX] that on August 27, members of the semi-military radical nationalist organization "Kaitseliit" ("Union For Defense") stormed the sealed up building of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in Tallinn. The prefect has expressed protest against the action.

Supreme Soviet Debates Future of Party Property

LD2808034291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1552 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 27 August (TASS)—An emergency meeting of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia opened to discuss the issue "On the property and archives of the

CPSU, Communist Party of Estonia, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and Leninist Communist Youth League of Estonia." A draft resolution proposed to the deputies suggests that all the property of the Communist Party and Komsomol, as well as of their legal successors, situated on the territory of Estonia, should be considered property of the Estonian republic. This should include the archives and current documentation.

This resolution concerns the independent Communist Party of Estonia [CPE], which has been registered and forms a part of the political system of the society, to a lesser degree. Part of its property, necessary for it to continue its activities, will be left to it.

As already reported, the Buro of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Estonia issued a statement on transferring the building of the CPE Central Committee and its parking lot to the Supreme Soviet, and also on returning nationalized and state-owned property, which is currently at the disposal of the CPE, to the Estonian government.

As to Estonia's other communist party—the one which supports the positions of the CPSU—its activities have been stopped in accordance with a governmental resolution, as of an organization not registered by the Republic's authorities, the center of which is situated outside the territory of Estonia.

Moscow-Based Managers Urge Citizenship Law

OW2708123291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Managers of enterprises run by the Government of the Soviet Union held a joint meeting with the industrial ministry of the Estonian Republic in Tallinn yesterday.

The meeting issued a statement calling on the Estonian Parliament to pass a law on citizenship as soon as possible, a law that would not infringe on the rights of the non-native population of the republic.

The statement expresses the belief that this would drastically weaken the social and political tension in Estonia.

Latvia

Denmark To Restore Diplomatic Relations

OW2708202191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A note on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Denmark was signed at the Latvian Supreme Council today. Dennish Ambassador to the Baltics Otto Borch told a news conference in Riga that his main aim is to develop ties between states, as well as to work out a program of Denmark's aid to the Baltics.

After his visit to Riga, Mr. Borch is expected to go to Vilnius and then to Tallinn with similar mission.

Council of Ministers Freezes Communist Resources

LD2708155491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia has issued an order forbidding the movement of natural, material, and financial resources of the Working People's International Front of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Council of Work Collectives, the War and Labor Veterans' Council, the Communist Party of Latvia, and the Latvian Lenin-Communist Youth Union that were involved in any form of enterprise activity or fund, until the adoption of a resolution by the Latvian Supreme Council on the possible future activity of these organizations.

Communist Leader Rubiks' Arrest Explained

OW2708152291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "SOVYETSKAY MOLODIOZH", Rita Aksyonok, head of the Latvian Prosecutor's Office's department for special investigation, explained why the Latvian Communist leader Alfred Rubiks had been arrested.

She said that the Prosecutor's Office has gathered a considerable amount of documents, audio and video materials testifying to Rubiks's involvement in the August 19 coup.

Investigators believe that Rubiks has committed high treason, organizing the coup on Latvian territory. Article 59 of the Penal Code of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (now in force in Latvia) envisages, at a maximum, capital punishment for high treason.

Answering a reporter's question what Rubiks's status will be in court—either a party leader or simply an individual—Aksyonok emphasized that, although Rubiks had resigned from the Communist Party, he would be held reponsible as a party leader. However, th : does not mean that people will be persecuted for membership in the Latvian Communist Party, Aksyonok noted. Rubiks has misled a lot of honest people who cannot be considered guilty for carrying out the misinformer's orders.

Aksyonok said that so far Rubiks has refused to testify in court as the accused (he has the right to do so).

Speaking about the Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, Aksyonok explained that, de

facto, it ceased to exist and the issue of its property would be decided by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

Aksyonok stressed that its head, Dauksis, has provided all necessary documents and authorized an investigation into his prosecutor's office activities on August 19-21.

She also said that Dauksis, his first deputy Reinieks and some other officials would be brought under investigation.

Procuracy Investigates 'Conspiracy,' Coup Support

LD2808060391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Procuracy of the Republic of Latvia has announced that an investigation of the conspiracy is going on in the Soviet Union and the Republic of Latvia, in the framework of which everything possible is being done in order to clarify objectively, fully and in every respect the circumstances of the preparation and execution of the conspiracy, its organizers and active participants, as well as those who were involved in it and strove to promote the unlawful seizure of power.

The announcement from the procuracy goes on to say: The danger of those persons who prepared the coup, by threats and lies, forcing compliance with the power structures formed by foreigners is not to be compared with the danger of those persons who, confused by fear or as a result of subordination, showed passive support for the criminals. The degree of every person's participation and responsibility will be assessed solely and only on the basis of lawfully obtained evidence. The procuracy guarantees that people will be called to account in accordance with the law on crimes committed, and not for political convictions.

To ensure legality in the Republic the procuracy will by all the means provided by law deal severely with persons who strive to continue the conspirators' activity. Every person has, according to law, the right to mitigate their responsibility by eliminating the harmful consequences of the crimes committed or by sincerely admitting and reporting their guilt. The institutions of the procuracy of the Republic of Latvia all over its territory will ensure the provision of these rights.

Let us not make our own and our fellow people's lives still more complicated by concealing criminals or traces of crimes or by planning new crimes.

That was an announcement from the procuracy of the Republic of Latvia.

Gorbunovs Heads People's Volunteer Corps

OW2708183291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Radio reports that people's volunteer corps are being formed in Latvia.

Their task is to guard enterprises, organizations, and other facilities of the republic. The volunteers are allowed to use arms in case of attack.

Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs is the commander of the corps. Currently, the Supreme Council is considering candidates for the post of Chief of Staff.

Vaznis To Discuss Militia Withdrawal in Moscow

LD2708182191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The sitting of the Republic of Latvia's government was told that an agreement was reached with the Baltic Military District's new command in which the army will guarantee the special purpose militia detachment—Soviet Interior Ministry special units—will be confined to base in the next two to three days.

Aloizs Vaznis, Republic of Latvia internal affairs minister, will go to Moscow this week to discuss the prompt removal of this unit from the republic, he said in a Radio Latvia interview. [passage omitted]

Military Building Returned to Original Owner

OW2708202991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Brief talks between the city authorities in Riga and representatives of the Baltics military district command resulted on Tuesday in an agreement to transfer the building of the district headquarters to its former owner, the Latvian Society. BF's [BALTFAX's] reporter learned this from Peteris Krumins, deputy president of the society. The military headquarters moved into the building in 1945 on an order from the then Latvian Prime Minister.

P. Krumins praised the military negotiators for their tact and readiness to leave the building one of these days.

Russian-Dominated Daugavpils To Comply With Law

OW2708202591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An emergency session of the Daugavpils city council (Daugavpils is the city with predominantly Russian-speaking population opposing Latvia's independence) decided today to fully comply with the laws of Latvia. The staff of the city's executive committee, save for its chairman and his deputy, made public at the session a collective statement about their resignation. The resignation was accepted by the city council under

the condition that the executive committee's members should work two weeks more until a new committee is elected.

The opposition "Progress" group of deputies in the city council proposed the resignation of the committee's chairman Vladimir Zharkov, but the proposal was turned down.

People's Front Legislative Proposals Published

OW2708183691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian press has published the parliamentary faction Latvian People's Front's proposals to the republican Supreme Council.

The faction recommends the parliament to review the defense system, to transfer center-run enterprises under the republic's jurisdiction, to set up a service of state control and to give more power to local authorities.

The faction also recommends that the republican Council of Ministers work out new programs of economic development for 1991-1992.

Lithuania

Landisbergis: U.S. Will Settle Independence

LD2708223291 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Georg Mikhailin]

[Text] Paris August 28 TASS—"Lithuania has gained independence. Its diplomatic recognition by the United States will finally settle this issue," Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis stressed on Tuesday in an interview with the TF-1 programme of the French television broadcast directly from Vilnius.

Landsbergis noted that the Lithuanian people always cherished the hope for a speedy solution of the question of independence. He believes that once the Lithuanian state gains political freedom, it will become independent enough economically. Landsbergis said one should not be scared of the collapse of the Soviet empire and observed that he never harboured hatred to any of its peoples.

U.S. Recognition 'Can Wait'

LD2708221491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The United States continues to maintain a cautious stand towards the recognition of the Baltics. Commenting on this, the Lithuanian parliamentary leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, said that now Lithuania's recognition by the United States is far less important than it was earlier. It seems that the United States has problems of its own, noted Vytautas Landsbergis, adding that we can wait. [passage omitted]

Australia To Restore Diplomatic Relations

OW2708123091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press secretary of the Lithuanian parliament, Audrius Azubalis, said at a briefing this morning that Australia has today decided to restore diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics, thus becoming the 19th country to have recognised their independence.

Yesterday an official from the French Foreign Ministry, Philippe de Surmond, met the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, and passed him a letter from French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, in which Dumas says that, at the conference of foreign ministers of the European Community countries in The Hague today, August 27, France will propose that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania be admitted to the United Nations. The French Foreign Ministry has also informed the Lithuanian Government that Dumas will visit Lithuania on August 29.

Azubalis also told the journalists that today Landsbergis had a telephone call from the Soviet Defense Minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who informed Landsbergis that he had given orders to the command of the Baltic Military District to withdraw the Vilnius and Riga OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] branches from Lithuanian and Latvian territory.

At the moment, the Vilnius OMON branch is stationed on the precincts of the Vilnius garrison.

Marshal Shaposhnikov also said that conscription for the Soviet Armed Forces would be abolished on Lithuanian territory in the near future and that all officers of Lithuanian descent serving in the Soviet Armed Forces were free to resign their commission or go to serve under the Lithuanian Defense Department or enter any other service.

Azubalis also said that there had been a fight between two groups of prisoners in the prison in Praveniskes at 6.30 yesterday evening, in which about 1,200 people took part. Two were killed and 27 wounded. One member of the guard, an officer of the troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, was taken hostage, but was freed today. None of the prisoners was able to get outside, however.

Tomorrow a commission of the USSR Customs Committee is coming to Vilnius to formalise the transfer of the Soviet customs posts to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic.

As we have already reported, all customs posts on Lithuanian territory were transferred to Lithuania's

jurisdiction yesterday. Some of them now have both Lithuanian and Soviet staff, the Lithuanian officers learning some specific kinds of operations from their Soviet colleagues.

Landsbergis Signs Appeal for Unity, Hard Work

LD2708173791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Appeal" from the Lithuanian Supreme Council to the people of Lithuania signed by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis; place and date not given]

[Text] The path of the restored independent Lithuania to international recognition and the restoration or establishment of diplomatic relations has lasted almost one and a half years. This path has at last led us to a wide international highway.

Our endurance and persistence have been approved by the whole world. The people of Lithuania with their hard working hands and the spirit striving for freedom have conquered economic blockade and political and military pressure. For many days and nights during the wintry frost, the people of Lithuania, have been surrounding and protecting the parliament and the most important state buildings,—defending the chosen path during all dangers.

Being aware of the fact that we have already passed the most difficult period, and enjoying what we already have achieved, we are thanking for the preserved [word indistinct] hope, for the determination and persistence in the days of danger, for material aid for the consolidation of Lithuania's independence.

Remembering the sacrifices for independence, we see that we are going to face many difficulties in reorganizing the econon y, consolidating democracy, and striving for a prosperous life for all of us, we once again invite the people of Lithuania to toil, endure and unite.

[Signed] Vytautas Landsbergis chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.

Reviews Political Events

LD2708113991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0820 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpts] A Lithuanian Supreme Council session started at 1000. As usual, the political situation was reviewed by the Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

[Begin Landsbergis recording] Today I will talk about our international affairs as far as the West is concerned. The three foreign ministers of the Baltic states have arrived in Oslo. In the Norwegian capital they will sign documents similar to those signed in Iceland and Denmark. This will not take long, because Germany is sending a plane to Oslo. Then they will fly to Bonn to meet Foreign Minister Genscher. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, although I have not seen any official text or precise report, I heard that a proposal had been made for the Baltic states to join the North, the so-called European Free Trade Association, the system of European states not belonging to the Group of 12. Thus, there may be a wide choice. It seems we will have to hastily analyze the situation in the sphere of international cooperation. [passage omitted]

Another event is the arrival of the envoy of the French foreign minister late last night. He arrived by air in Warsaw and came in the French Embassy's car via the Lazdijai customs checkpoint, obtaining a Lithuanian visa without any problems. We discussed the events with him. He brought a letter to Foreign Minister Algirdas Saugardas from the French foreign minister. [passage omitted]

You know that the United States, represented by President Bush, is still delaying and has doubts based on some tactical reasons or some obligations to the leader of another great state. We do not know, but it is obvious that a decision is getting closer, because the public opinion in America and the state apparatus are united on this issue. [passage omitted]

About our affairs concerning the Soviet Army and such aggressive groups as the special purpose militia detachment [OMON] in Lithuania and Latvia, I can say that this morning at 0800 there was a telephone call from Moscow from the new minister of defense, Marshal Shaposhnikov, who explained their stand on the withdrawal of the OMON from Lithuania and Latvia to Russia. He asked my opinion, and I said that they must be withdrawn. I said that this solution is possible and I do not oppose it. I hope that there will not be such [words indistinct] and all other legal matters—the matters of responsibility—they will not escape.

We dealt with Marshal Shaposhnikov without any tensions or conflicts on such problems as the agreements on the taking over of the buildings. He thinks that military structures should function for some time. I said that we will have to talk about the withdrawal of the army in general. They will send their authorized mission on military afairs to Lithuania. I reiterated my wish expressed previously in a telegram and in an agreement by telephone with the chief of staff on the immediate release of Lithuanian youths from the service and their return to Lithuania. I asked him to issue corresponding orders and added—and this was not mentioned in the previous telegram—that all Lithuanian officers or those originating from Lithuania who would like to return can do so without obstacles. He said that they will do this and will not create any obstacles. [end recording]

KGB Ordered To Hand Over Weapons, Ammunition

LD2708211291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] According to a decision taken by the government of the Lithuanian Republic, all employees of the USSR KGB subdivision in Lithuania should hand over their service weapons and ammunition, which they possess at this moment, before 30 August to a weapons storehouse situated in the building occupied by the USSR KGB subdivision. (Armonas), deputy chairman of the USSR KGB subdivision in Lithuania, has been instructed by the government to execute this decision.

USSR KGB Officials Arrive To Solve 'Problems'

LD2708203391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A group of authorized representatives of the USSR State Security Committee arrived in Lithuania. Together with the authorized representatives of the Republic of Lithuania, it will solve the problems of abolishing the KGB's Lithuanian branch. Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila received General Ivan Fedoseyev, head of the group, who said the USSR State Security Committee leadership completely approves abolishing the Security Committee's Lithuanian branch. The abolition process, problems of the fate of the former State Security Committee officials, the joint border control posts of the USSR and the Republic of Lithuania, and the progress of gradually handing over the border control to Lithuania were discussed. The corresponding groups of experts of the USSR and Lithuania started work.

Parliament Demands Withdrawal of Soviet Forces

LD2708162491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 27 Aug (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian parliament has demanded that all armed forces of the Soviet Union must be withdrawn from Lithuanian territory by an agreed date.

A resolution "On the complete withdrawal of USSR forces from Lithuania", passed today at a plenary sitting of the extraordinary session of the republic's parliament, states that the demand is based on "the unambiguously expressed will of the majority of the population of Lithuania", and also on the fact that the presence in the republic of Soviet Army units is "a remnant of World War II."

Shaposhnikov Assures Withdrawal

LD2708165491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius, 27 Aug (TASS)—"Instructions have been given to withdraw USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Special Purpose Militia Detachment troops from Lithuanian territory," USSR Defense Minister Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said during a telephone conversation this morning with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian Republic. Journalists were told of this today at a briefing by the Lithuanian parliament's press secretary. According to the latter, the USSR defense minister told Landsbergis that a commission is being sent to the republic to conduct talks on the presence of the Soviet Army in Lithuania.

Peaceful Policy, Respect for Rights Confirmed

LD2708225591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Lithuanian government has confirmed that the policy of the Lithuanian state will remain a peaceful one. The government has pledged to honor human rights of all people residing in Lithuania inspite of their nationality or political beliefs. The government issued a special statement denying the rumors that are being circulated that the Lithuanian government is going to persecute pro-Communist and non-Lithuanians. Once again, the government asserts that Lithuania is firm in its decision to create a democratic state.

Ban on TRUD in Lithuania Studied, Lifted

914B0328A Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

[Unattributed article: "TRUD Will Be Printed in Lithuania"]

[Text]The putschists miscalculated: Although they permitted TRUD to be published, the conspirators did not gain the support of the workers. On the contrary: The newspaper's correspondents transmitted from the local areas unbiased articles about how broad segments of the population were in favor of democracy and supporting the leaders of this struggle. Incidentally, our newspaper was one of the first to present the declaration from the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania V. Landsbergis without any changes.

This made the order from the Administration for Control of the Press under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic even more offensive. Referring to the agreement between Lithuania and Russia concerning the foundations of interstate relations and the republic law on the press, the authors of the order

temporarily halted the dissemination in Lithuania of all newspapers permitted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. It is obvious that this ban was imposed without any analysis of the content of the newspaper itself. One could only hope that the confusion would be cleared up.

And so it was. While this rejoinder was being prepared for printing an announcement came from the administration which said that, having studied the content of the newspaper and taking into account the appeal from the readers, the order to temporarily halt the dissemination of TRUD in Lithuania was canceled.

KGB Chairman on Future of State Security

LD2808091191 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The acronym "KGB" which evokes negative attitude in many should be changed, believes Viktor Ivanenko, chairman of the Russian Federation KGB (State Security Service). However, the country cannot do without intelligence and counter-intelligence services and the effort to combat organised crime," Ivanenko told TASS. Ivanenko believes it is not so important what this service will be called: the KGB or the GKB (the State Committee of Security). The main thing is it will be a different special service.

Ivanenko said leaders of the Russian KGB have "normal" businesslike relations with the chief of the USSR KGB Vadim Bakatin. "I think we shall maintain mutual understanding and business contacts. There will be no difficulties, although some contradictions exist, of course," Ivanenko said.

Ivanenko noted it is necessary to radically change the system of personnel training which has serious shortcomings. There are also problems regarding democratisation within the collective.

Heads of special services should take greater account of public opinion when making personnel decisions. These principles should be implemented through the institution of officers' assemblies which was undeservedly forgotten. Officers' assemblies should deal with numerous social problems and should "play a role in rallying the collective and emphasising honour and dignity among staff members.

Immediately after Russian President Yeltsin's decree on departisation, the Russian Federation's KGB began developing a mechanism for suspending staff membership in any party, Ivanenko said. He said this clause will be contained in the draft law on state security bodies in the Russian Federation which the Russian Supreme Soviet is to adopt in the autumn of this year.

Referring to the days of the coup, Ivanenko said he had never thought Vladimir Kryuchkov capable of such definite adventuristic actions. The Russian Federation's KGB learned about the coup from the TV programme "Utro" (Morning). "I don't know what Kryuchkov was counting on," Ivanenko said. "The subsequent days showed the overwhelming majority of KGB officers do not accept such unconstitutional actions."

"It occurred to me when the Russian president was being elected that Kryuchkov lives in a world of his own," Ivanenko said. Ivanenko is of the opinion that Kryuchkov's ideological preferences promoted him to select facts to suit them. Ivanenko believes that in the recent period Kryuchkov was detached from reality and was uninformed of the current state of affairs in the KGB's collectives.

Yeltsin Decree Nationalizes CPSU Property

LD2808131791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] In connection with the dissolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the suspension of activities of the Russian Communist Party, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has declared all real estate and property belonging to the communist parties of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, including monies in rubles and hard currency deposited in banks both on the republic's territory and abroad, to be Russian state property. CPSU funds abroad, according to Yeltsin's decree, will be distributed according to an agreement between the republics following their signing of the Union Treaty.

Further on Yeltsin 'Instruction'

LD2808160291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an instruction according to which all foreign currency finance operations, and operations involving precious metals and stones may be carried out by the Ministry of Finances, the State Bank, and the USSR Foreign Economic Bank exclusively with the agreement of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Finance and its central bank and the Foreign Trade Bank. All the material and technical assets of the USSR Ministry of Finance, the State Bank, and the Foreign Economic Bank are transferred to the jurisdiction of these Russian departments. According to the instruction, proposals for the procedure for mutual relations between the budget of Russia and the budgets of the Union and other republics are to be submitted to the Russian president within a month.

Party Activity in Stavropol Suspended

LD2508021791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Stavropol, 24 Aug (TASS)—To implement the decree by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] President Boris Yeltsin on suspending the activities of the Russian Communist Party of Russia pending an investigation of its role in the organization of the coup, a initiative group of people's deputies of Stavropol Kray Soviet and activists of "Democratic Russia" this morning took the building of the CPSU Kray Committee under control. The access was closed, archives sealed, and measures for preserving documents were taken.

Members of the initiative group met with the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, and Directorate of Home Affairs of

the Kray Executive Committee, and received assurances that the local authorities will promote the implementation of the decree in all possible ways.

Kishinev: In accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Republic of Moldova legislature to ban the activities of the Communist Party in all areas of the republic, the government of Moldova decided to nationalize the property of the Communist Party of Moldova.

A special government commission was instructed to seal immediately the premises of the Communist Party Central Committee and of its mass media, including local ones.

According to the document, the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova and its rayon and town executive committees will seal and guard all the premises, institutions, enterprises, and other property that belongs or is under control of the Communist Party of Moldova. The Ministry of Finance will organize an inventory of all the nationalized material and financial assets. All the Communist Party assets, including hard currency, will be transferred into the republic's budget.

Khabarovsk: The activity of all organizations of the Communist Party of Russia was suspended on the territory of the Khabarovsk Kray, in accordance with the decree by the RSFSR president. All the party committees were shut down and their leaders' offices sealed. Banks were instructed to suspend the accounts of the kray committee, as well as town and rayon committees of the Russian Communist Party.

Moscow Soviet To Ban CPSU City Committees

OW2208213791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Moscow City Soviet today discussed ways to overcome the consequences of the putsch.

It decided to ban all the public organisations which "undertook acts aimed at the overthrow of the constitutional system". These include the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU (according to some reports, the commmittee building is sealed up), the Liberal Democratic Party (led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy), and the All-Union Council of War and Labour Veterans.

The first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, Yuriy Prokofiev, has been deprived of his immunity as deputy of the Moscow City Soviet, and the public prosecutor of Moscow has been instructed to institute criminal proceedings against him.

Cabinet Bans Activities of Central Ministries

OW2608080891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian cabinet on Saturday passed a resolution bringing all central ministries under its own control. It also suspended the validity of all previous resolutions by the Soviet Cabinet on Russian territory until a new central government is formed.

The resolution also bans the operation in Russia by the Soviet ministries for economics and forecasting, and for material resources, with their functions and funds being transferred to appropriate republican departments.

Russian Communist Party's Melnikov Interviewed

LD2608003491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian in the course of its special 110-minute program on the coup attempt at 1852 GMT on 23 August carries a 12-minute interview with Aleksandr Grigorevich Melnikov, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and member of the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, by "Vzglyad" presenters Vladislav Listyev, Aleksandr Lyubimov, and Aleksandr Politkovskiy.

Listyev begins by asking: "Do you not think that because the eight people who headed this coup attempt are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, after these events and its inactivity during these events, the Communist Party has finally discredited itself before the Soviet people, in the eyes of the Soviet people?"

Melnikov replies: "I would not like to give such an assessment. I would like you to understand, and everyone to understand, that you should not identify the party with those eight specific people or with other leading bodies, because there are communists, millions of communists, who stood firm at this very difficult moment, maintained their working rhythm, and did not allow the country to be shaken. That's the main thing. We must constantly remember them and they must not be branded."

Aleksandr Lyubimov asks: "Aleksandr Grigorevich, did you personally come to the White House?"

Melnikov responds: "No. The Russian Central Committee found out about all the events from television, essentially. But we understood that the issues were being resolved in the White House. Well, in Russia there are party organizations, there are party committees. We immediately worked out a position: on the one hand to obtain accurate information, objective information from the Central Committee and from the committee that was

being set up; and, second, to discuss and reassure all the party organizations and, through them, the labor collectives."

Lyubimov then asks: "Aleksandr Grigorevich, it is known that there was a secret Central Committee note for internal use which recommended that Communists should support the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Did you know about this note?" Melnikov answers: "Well, this didn't come to the Russian Central Committee. I didn't see it. I knew that there had been such a directive and we thought that it was a directive about a Central Committee plenum, but the text of it was not itself with us at the apparatus."

Lyubimov again asks: "Fine, Aleksandr Grigorevich, but in one way or another you and the the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and the Russian Communist Party in general, are associated with rather conservative views. Perhaps this image is mistaken, but this opinion exists. In this situation, you personally could have pretended to be with the junta and supplied the White House with intelligence about what was taking place."

Melnikov replied: "Why should we go to the junta when we have our own position? The Russian Communist Party doesn't take part in these things." The journalist points out that Melnikov had been in receipt of information from party committees in various towns. Journalists had spent days collecting this information, "but no information came from you". Melnikov said the Russian Communist Party Central Committee had given information to the Russian president by telephone about the issues that were concerning people.

Melnikov said he had had no telephone communication with the "junta" and did not know whether it had been based in the Kremlin or in Staraya Ploshchad, headquarters of CPSU Central Committee.

Asked about the difficulties now facing the Communist Party, Melnikov said "What has happened has happened, of course; enormous difficulties arise for us and the party will obviously have received a serious blow in this affair." [video shows Melnikov in studio with Lyubimov, Politkovskiy, and Listyev].

Yeltsin Invited To Visit Foreign Countries

OW2608175491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leaders of a number of countries have called by phone the president of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, as soon as the coup attempt in the Soviet Union was crushed. It has been reported that many of them, for example President Francois Mitterand of France and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany invited the Russian leader to visit their respective countries. The Russian Foreign Ministry, asked by a DP ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent, has confirmed this information. However, they pointed out that those could not be called official invitations. The ministry's officials expressed their confidence that they would be confirmed in writing, according to an accepted diplomatic practice.

Before the coup attempt, Mr Yeltsin was invited to pay official visits to Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Portugal, Greece, Canada and Australia. It was believed that the Russian president would visit the former socialist countries first. Officials at the Russian Foreign Ministry could not say what would be Mr Yeltsin's priority list now that the coup d'etat failed. "This is what we are working on at the moment", they said.

Indian Prime Minister Congratulates Yeltsin

LD2408234691 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—"The Government and people of India have watched with admiration the significant role you have played in the past days, in the defence of constitutional principles and democracy in the Soviet Union," Prime Minister Narasimha Rao of India said in a message addressed to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

"As the elected president of the great Russian Republic, you provided determined leadership to the Soviet people in their courageous defence of the fruits of glasnost and perestroyka," the prime minister said.

He stressed that the people and Government of India were happy "to learn that President Gorbachev is back in Moscow and the situation throughout the country is returning to normal."

The Indian prime minister praised a relationship of mutual trust and friendship enjoyed by the people of India and the Soviet people, including the people of the Russian Federation.

Mongolian President Sends Message to Yeltsin

LD2408234191 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Dugar Saniyev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar August 24 TASS—President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat of Mongolia addressed a message to Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to express his deep satisfaction with the failure of the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. The text of the message was published in today's issue of the ARDIYN ERH newspaper.

"I admire the courage, devotion to the cause of perestroyka and democracy you and other leaders of the Russian Federation displayed during those days of trial for the Soviet people. I wish you great success in deepening democratic processes in your native country," the Mongolian president said in his message. He also expressed confidence that friendly, good-neighbourly cooperation between Mongolia and Russia would continue to develop on the basis of the declaration adopted last February.

Latvian Legislators, Yeltsin Discuss OMON

LD2608113691 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 26 TASS—A delegation of the Latvian Supreme Soviet met on Sunday in Moscow with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and new chiefs of the USSR Ministry of Defence, Interior Ministry and the KGB.

During the meeting agreement was reached to terminate the activity of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] elite police force in Riga and disarm the OMON unit altogether. Armaments and other equipment seized during the January and August events will be restored to representatives of the republican authorities.

In connection with the Latvian Supreme Soviet's decision to dissolve the Latvian KGB, this matter will be discussed in further detail with representatives of the KGB of the USSR.

President of the Latvian Parliament Anatolis Gorbunovs, said at the parliament's plenary meeting that Latvia's relations with USSR state authorities will be based on treaties. Work on these treaties will begin soon.

Gorbunovs said Colonel General Fyodor Kulmin, commander of the troops of the Baltic Military District, had been removed from his post.

Russian Prosecutor To Investigate Coup

PM2808105791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Charges Will Be Brought in Next Few Days"]

[Text] On 26 August Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov met with the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group put at his disposal. He explained the reasons for amalgamating the criminal cases into a single proceedings and transferring them to the jurisdiction of the Russian authorities (IZVESTIYA No. 203) and presented the leader of the investigation into the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Deputy General Prosecutor Yevgeniy Lisov.

Then there was a conference of the investigation group, which undertook a plan to investigate actions, and determined the staff and appointed the leaders of the operations groups for specific avenues. The conference decided to move all those arrested in connection with the case to a detention prison with additional guards. It is true that the location is being kept secret. In the next few days charges will be brought against those people against whom sufficient evidence of culpability in the antistate coup has been collected.

A special group of independent prosecutors to supervise the investigation into the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency has been created under the RSFSR general prosecutor. These prosecutors will be subordinate only to Valentin Stepankov. The group's members are not yet named.

A leader of the Latvian Prosecutor's Office has arrived in Moscow to establish working contacts and to coordinate his actions with Yevgeniy Lisov's investigation group. A similar visit is expected from the Estonian republic Prosecutor's Office and from other prosecutor's offices which are conducting an independent investigation into the circumstances of the antistate coup in the country.

In a few days it is planned to hold a press conference with the participation of members of the investigation group for the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and leaders of the Russian Prosecutor's Office, Internal Affairs Ministry, and KGB.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Discuss Future of Union

LD2708155691 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—A working meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev was held in Moscow today. The sides confirmed their adherence to the idea of creating a union of sovereign states and declared for the signing shortly of a new Union agreement with the necessary improvements dictated by the new situation in the country.

The Union government, the country's leadership should be formed by Union states, proceeding from the principle of representation. Such is the common stand of the presidents of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, the press secretary of the Russian Federation's president said.

The sides confirmed their recognition of the declarations of sovereignty adopted of late by union republics of the USSR, as well as bilateral treaties and agreements concluded between them. They reached the consensus that the Union army should be preserved as guarantor of security of sovereign states linked by relations of allies.

A problem of frontiers between USSR Republics was discussed during the meeting. The Russian Federation's president commenting on information circulated in the

press in this connection, stated the following: Frontiers will be revised only regarding those republics who leave the USSR. In relations with Union states, Russia adheres to the principle of the unchangeability of the existing frontiers.

The question of a conference of leaders of the 15 Union republics now included in the USSR was discussed at the meeting. The purpose of such a meeting is to conclude an economic agreement and preserve a single market space. The sides confirmed their intention to make the initiative for such a meeting.

The president of the Russian Federation and the president of Kazakhstan confirmed their adherence to democracy and declared for the speeding up of political and economic reforms.

Zhirinovskiy Claims Troops To Go to Uzbekistan

LD2608163291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] In an interview with a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the USSR Liberal Democratic Party—let me remind you that this party's activities have been suspended, along with those of the CPSU—has predicted that Boris Yeltsin will soon send troops into Uzbekistan for cotton. He said this will happen after the textile factories in the town of Ivanovo close on Monday, as they only have enough cotton to last until Friday.

Official Says Yeltsin Setting Foreign Priorities

OW2708161891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1505 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry official has said President Boris Yeltsin is doing his best to work out a set of foreign political priorities for the republic. He observed in an interview with DP ["Diplomatic Panorama"] that "the Soviet Union's future is the key problem today," and that the proclamation of independence by the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Moldova has put the RSFSR Foreign Ministry in an essentially new situation, in which "a national foreign policy becomes extremely problematic." Russia's foreign policy, he continued, will depend to a considerable extent on the republic's status, i.e., on whether Russia continues to be part of the union or secedes and becomes an independent state.

The Russian diplomat described the situation in the RSFSR Foreign Ministry as "quite normal." He said the majority of the staff are "high-class specialists who may have confidence in their future," and that only a limited number of leading officials may be held responsible for supporting the recent coup.

The diplomat refrained from predicting who may be chosen as the new head of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He said that among the most frequently mentioned candidates are Eduard Shevardnadze, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky, the Soviet Ambassador to the UN Yuliy Vorontsov, and some other prominent diplomats. If Shevardnadze officially declines to take the post, the process of choosing a new head of the ministry will be notably accelerated, the RSFSR diplomat said.

Asked what foreign countries President Yeltsin would be likely to visit shortly, the official said it would be European countries in the first place, since "Europe is among Russia's top priorities in the foreign political sphere."

Kozyrev on Reforming Foreign Policy Structure

LD2808085391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Whoever becomes the new foreign minister will have to unravel many problems, believes Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] foreign policy department.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] This whole structure needs to be consistently reorganized. It is necessary to transform this apparatus from what it was as created under Stalin, as a diplomatic detachment of the CPSU, just as the KGB bodies were created as the CPSU's armed detachment. Now is the time to transform it into a normal human, civilized department and bodies. Second, the RSFSR must have its own independent relationships with other countries and its own independent missions. Of course, such relationships must be built on a civic basis rather on an ideological basis. [end recording]

Views Relations With Hungary

LD2808093691 Budapest MTI in English 0807 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—"We do not look upon Hungarian democracy, and the East European democracies as something that implies a loss for us, quite the contrary: We look upon them as a historical success and as our natural allies," said Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian republic, in an interview with the national daily NEPSZABADSAG. The Russian foreign minister is currently holding talks in Budapest. Discussing his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Kozyrev said:

"We discussed direct relations between the Russian republic and the Republic of Hungary, in the interest of intensifying the general Soviet-Hungarian system of relations. The focus of interest was on preparations for the forthcoming visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Hungary, if possible in the remainder of the year. Alongside this, and starting out from the new situation, we

reviewed the entire range of our political and economic relations, in order to place these on new bases.

"With respect to the economic sphere, we agreed to consider new ways and means that would make it possible to implement all which was considered unusual so far. For instance, relations based on market bases and characteristic interests, but supported by the governments.

"Drawing the balance of our talks, I am extremely satisfied, and I look ahead to my meeting with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Wednesday with great interest," said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, in the interview.

Government Wants Diplomatic Ties With Israel

TA2808094991 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 28 Aug 91 p 3

[Report from the USSR by Alex Fishman; "exclusive" for 'AL HAMISHMAR and HADASHOT]

[Text] The Government of the Russian Federation has conveyed to the Israeli Government a message requesting the establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries.

The document was prepared on Saturday by the Middle East desk of Russia's Foreign Ministry. A year ago, the Knesset received an appeal for interparliamentary ties from Vladimir Lukin, the chairman of the Russian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee [title as published]. Israel did not respond to the appeal. Moscow observers believe Israel will be making a mistake if this time, too, it hesitates and refrains from responding to the appeal for diplomatic relations. "It is a young country," they explain, "and it will remember those who hastened to recognize it."

Foreign Ministry Official on Foreign Policy

OW2708175591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin pays great attention to the process of working out Russia's foreign-policy priorities, a prominent member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told IF [INTERFAX]. The key issue now is the problem of the Soviet Union's future, he said. According to him, independence proclaimed by the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, and Kazakhstan places Russia's foreign ministry in a qualitatively new situation. Under the circumstances to speak about the union's foreign policy is more than problematic. As for Russia's foreign policy, it will depend to a great extent on Russia's status, on whether Russia remains part of the union or becomes an independent state.

When asked who might become the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the diplomat refrained from answering. According to him, Eduard Shevardnadze has been mentioned as a possible candidate more often than others. The possible candidates include the present Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, the Soviet Ambassador to the UN Yuliy Vorontsov, and other prominent diplomats. According to the spokesman, this is a crucial issue, and if E. Shevardnadze officially declines to accept this post, the process of choosing the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry will become much speedier.

When asked about the order of visits abroad to be paid by Russia's President, the Russian Foreign Ministry official said that B. Yeltsin will visit European countries first of all. Relations with Europe are given top-priority importance in Russia's foreign policy, he said.

Prime Minister Postpones Visit to Japan

OW2608222291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2052 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev's visit to Japan, originally scheduled for August 21-28 and put off following the government coup attempt in the Soviet Union, can be postponed further, by two or three months, a Russian Federation Foreign Ministry official said.

He said that after the abortive coup the role of Russia had grown seriously inside and outside the USSR. "The Russian Prime Minister's visit to Tokyo must reflect the new realities," the diplomat said.

Silayev Briefs Media on Gorbachev's Return

PM2708131091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Russian Prime Minister I.S. Silayev by unidentified correspondents "after his return from Foros": "Gorbachev Believed That the Russians Would Come to His Aid"]

[Text] Right after his return from Foros, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Prime Minister I.S. Silayev was interviewed by correspondents at 0230.

[Silayev] You probably know that we invited representatives from several embassies to accompany us, and we had reasons for doing this. Unfortunately, however, we took off quickly because we felt that something irreparable might happen. Some 90 minutes before our departure, the leaders of the junta took off for the same place, Foros, in two aircraft. We were alarmed that they might move Gorbachev somewhere else and perhaps subject him to physical violence.

We apologize to those we had invited, but we did not have time to take them with us. We express gratitude to those who support us today: the embassies of the United States, Italy, and many others. Only a French emissary managed to fly out with us. Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke with him, and the emissary conveyed greetings to him from Mitterrand. We told Gorbachev that Bush and British Prime Minister Major had telephoned, along with nearly all the G-7 leaders. They sent wishes of fortitude and courage.

[Unidentified correspondent] Which of the leaders of the junta flew there?

[Silayev] Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Baklanov.

[Unidentified correspondent] What about Lukyanov?

[Silayev] Lukyanov flew in our aircraft. We arrived and said: We are placing you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, under our protection and invite you onto our aircraft. We said we were departin without delay. Get your family and yourself ready, and we will give you immunity.

Gorbachev was very pleased, for he had not seen television, read the newspapers, or been able to telephone anyone for several days. During the junta's two visits to him he had told them: You will ruin yourselves and ruin the country. Come to your senses; nothing will come of what you are doing. They ordered him to sign some document. He refused categorically. He told us: "I believed that people would come to my aid, and the Russians would certainly come to my aid."

[Unidentified correspondent] What will be the fate of those people (the junta)? What awaits them, Lukyanov in particular?

[Silayev] There will be a trial. Criminal proceedings will be instituted. It will, of course, be in line with the Constitution, but it will be viewed as a very serious crime—the coup d'etat. We were afraid because the KGB units are a particularly dangerous force. It was they who planned to storm the White House at night. For this reason we took Kryuchkov in our aircraft. We brought him back safely and sent him to the appropriate place—the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will the KGB, as an institution of the state structure, change after this?

[Silayev] At least, this will have an effect on its ceasing to be a state within a state. It was abnormal when even the president's guard, even the president's fate, were entrusted to this monopoly.

[Unidentified correspondent] Is Pavlov at liberty?

[Silayev] Do not be in a hurry.

[Unidentified correspondent] Can it be said that the victory is final?

[Silayev] Yes.

[Unidentified correspondent] What will happen to Yanayev?

[Silayev] He will get what he deserves as a traitor. He was the USSR president's right hand, someone close to him. In addition to betraying the state, he betrayed the person who twice championed him at the Congress of People's Deputies in order to secure his approval. This was incredibly base; he must be punished, both for being base and for betraying the state. And so it will be.

[Unidentified correspondent] What now? Do you believe that now is a convenient time to implement the radical transformations that had previously been held up in every possible way?

[Silayev] Of course. We Russians undoubtedly intend to support the USSR president to ensure that these processes are more effective. For this, however, we need executors different from Pavlov's team. We said this right from the start. They are executors out of the past and are incapable of drawing up anything new, still less accepting anything new.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did Gorbachev agree with you that a new team must be formed?

[Silayev] Yes.

[Unidentified correspondent] When will work on the Union treaty be resumed?

[Silayev] It can hardly be said that this will happen today. Talks have already been held, but various sections of society, including Russian ones, have made certain comments. There is hardly any point now in tackling the treaty "on the double." Taking into account all that has happened, we must interpret things calmly and look again at the main articles, particularly those that worry the people, including some strata in Russia. We must make the necessary changes. I believe we will not have long to wait.

Silayev Orders Commission Computer Center Closed

LD2708183191 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Russia's Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, who now heads the committee running the USSR national economy, ordered on Monday the suspension of activities of the information and computing centre of the state commission for emergencies under the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. The facilities of the centre will be sealed until further notice.

Silayev Disseminates Instructions on New Flag

LD2608193791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The state flag of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has been hoisted in Moscow above the residence of the RSFSR president in the

Kremlin, and over the RSFSR House of Soviets. Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, has sent a telegram to central and local bodies of state authority and administration and also to the mass media. The telegram says:

Guided by the decisions of the extraordinary session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 21 August 1991 and of the RSFSR president, the historic Russian flag, which consists of a panel of three equivalent horizontal strips—the upper white, the middle blue, and the lower red—is to be considered the state flag of the RSFSR. Individuals guilty of defiling the RSFSR state flag will bear responsibility in accordance with legislation of the RSFSR.

Rutskoy Addresses People, Rejects Rumors

OW2508140291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy strove to put paid to current rumours that another attempt might be made to storm the Russian parliament or that a coup would again be attempted. Addressing a crowd that had gathered on Sunday in front of the "White House on the Embankment," Rutskoy emphasized that there were absolutely no grounds for such fears and asked that work on setting up barricades around the building be halted. The new ministers of defense and internal affairs, as well as the new chairman of the KGB, were loyal to the president and to the Constitution of the country, Rutskoy said.

One can assume that people became alarmed when hearing reports that columns of military vehicles were on the move near Moscow. An INTERFAX correspondent managed to get in touch with the military unit in question, however. The officer on duty informed him that the unit was part of a special forces brigade attached to the USSR's KGB and that it was returning to its permanent base after exercises that had begun at the beginning of the month.

Rutskoy on Democratic Party, Arrest of Coupists

AU2608145991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], by Jaromir Stetina in Moscow on 22 August: "The Vice President Answers LIDOVE NOVINY's Question on Where the Junta Members Are Imprisoned: It Is Our Secret"]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, the chief protagonist in the operation to liberate Mikhail Gorbachev, yesterday granted a short interview to a LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent.

[Stetina] Mr. Vice President, what will be the future of your great Democratic Party of Russian Communists? In general, what will be the role of the communists in Russia after what happened?

[Rutskoy] In those days, the party spoke for itself. Not even the great CPSU or the Russian Communist Party stood up in defense of the people and democracy in the country. They no longer have the right to call themselves the people's party. The place of the Communist Party is the same as that of all Communist Parties in Eastern Europe. I remember well my recent expulsion from the CPSU. This novel experience makes me believe that social democratic movements and democratic parties must enter the stage.

[Stetina] Including your party?

[Rutskoy] Maybe. If necessary, we will continue developing our party. The party congress is to take place in October. As we constituted the Democratic Party of Russian Communists, we wanted to be a part of the CPSU. I believe that a decision will be passed at the congress that will not uphold this intention. It will make it a true party of democratic reforms. It will be the people's party.

[Stetina] Will its name include the word communist?

[Rutskoy] No.

[Stetina] What did Gorbachev say in the Crimea?

[Rutskoy] As we departed from the Crimea, Mikhail Sergeyevich said: It must never again be repeated. Everybody must be punished as he deserves. Have you heard how Aleksandr Yakovlev spoke today, and how he said: It was repulsive to watch those who welcomed the president in Moscow. To me, it was even more repulsive to watch their faces. They are people without a trace of conscience. Not one of them has said a word in his defense. I will never again shake hands with these representatives of the USSR.

[Stetina] Has the entire octet been in the Crimea?

[Rutskoy] No, not all of them. It was Yazov, Lukyanov. It is embarrassing to watch how Lukyanov defends himself. To be the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and so pathetic—I cannot stand this. He used to be a man. Kryuchkov was there—we brought him along in our airplane. We locked him up first.

All arrests were carried out by the Interior Ministry of the Russian federation and a group of officers who traveled with me. There were 30 people—they will get their just reward—majors, lieutenant colonels, colonels. They fulfilled their task honorably. The other members of the octet were arrested at Vnukovo Airport upon their arrival by the next plane.

[Stetina] Where are they being held?

[Rutskoy] That is our secret.

Parliament Leader Calls For New Market Economy

OW2608081191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting leader of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov speaking on Saturday said now that central economic management bodies were being overhauled, new market-oriented structures must be set up to replace former ministries to ensure the country's economic performance in line with market laws. He said the Soviet leadership now has the opportunity to quicken the pace of economic reform.

In his words, the coup leaders wanted to take advantage of "public discontent over the country's economic plight leading to a sharp fall in living standards." Mr Khasbulatov said the Russian leadership has enough credibility on the ground to embrace radical economic reform.

Journalists Call For 'Legality' in Press Dealings

PM2708221391 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Glasnost: What Is Happening to It?": "Appeal by the Russian Journalists Union"]

[Text] An appeal by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Journalists Union Ispolkom [executive committee] has been sent to RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin; I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers; and V.G. Stepankov, the RSFSR general prosecutor.

It says that according to alarming reports being received from Russian republics and oblasts, incidents of journalists' dismissals for political reasons have been occurring during the reorganization of local press, and the fate of press organs is being hastily decided.

In this connection, the Journalists Union Ispolkom appeals for instructions to be issued to the localities to observe strictly legality in dealing with all journalists and that maximum attention and objectivity regarding their future tasks.

Journalists Expel Collaborationist Editors

914B0329A Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

["Statement of Moscow Journalists Union"—TRUD headline]

[Text] On behalf of the Moscow Journalists Union, we congratulate all progressive journalists on the victory of the democratic forces. We congratulate all those who, under the most arduous and dangerous conditions of the putsch, performed their professional duty honestly and told the people the truth.

In the first hours of the start of the coup, the Moscow Journalists Union rose to the defense of democratic gains and appealed to employees of the mass media, condemning the putschists.

We are proud of the journalists who worked day and night alongside the president of Russia. We do not have the right, however, to forgive those who, instead of struggling for democracy and liberty, chose a path of connivance and supported the conspirators, preparing and transmitting material supporting and approving their activity. Responsibility for this is borne primarily by I.T. Frolov and G.N. Seleznev, chief editor and first deputy chief editor respectively of the newspaper PRAVDA; chief editors of the newspapers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, SELSKAYA ZHIZN and MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA—V.V. Chikin, A.P. Yurkov, A.P. Kharlamov, and V.P. Lysenko, respectively; and also G.A. Shishkin, first deputy general director of TASS.

Guided by our professional duty, the Secretariat believes that these leaders, taking such a position at a decisive time for the motherland, can no longer remain members of our artistic union. For aiding and abetting and supporting the organizers of the coup and also for violating the bylaws of the Moscow Journalists Union and the USSR Press Act, they are by decision of the Secretariat expelled from the union. As far as L.P. Kravchenko, chairman of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, is concerned, he was, as is known, expelled earlier from our union by decision of the Moscow Journalists Union Secretariat.

We propose to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Moscow City Soviet the following: In view of the fact that Moscow journalists need a paper of their own, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA should be nationalized and transferred to the Moscow Journalists Union.

'New' MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Published

LD2808054191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0330 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] In these days it is not only the republics that are acquiring freedom, but the mass media as well. Today the editorial office received the first issue of the new MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. Incidentally, Mayak stood up for its appearance. Now it is the labor collective that is the master with full rights over this newspaper—to be more exact, the trade union organization of the editorial office. Temporary rules have already been adopted.

The certificate of registration has been received from the Ministry of the Press and the Mass Media of the RSFSR. Henceforth, the newspaper is not subordinated to party biases and restrictions dictated by the current state of affairs. At the same time, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA is not rejecting its traditions and best accomplishments in its 80-year-long history.

Leningrad Party Daily Converted to New Paper

LD2708205191 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMTse rederated 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad August 27 TASS—The LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper, an organ of the Leningrad Communist Party organisation since 1919, has been turned into a city daily, SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI.

The decision was made "proceeding from journalists' civic duty regardless of their political positions, to help city authorities revive spiritual, scientific and cultural values, to stabilise the economy, and preserve and develop traditions of the great people".

A similar newspaper was published in St. Petersburg since 1728 by the Academy of Sciences. Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov was one of its editors. In 1914, it changed the title to PETROGRADSKIYE VEDOMOSTI and was closed in 1917.

Movement Issues Statement on Border Question

LD2708224891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Today we received a statement by a group of members of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Russia movement. This is what they say:

The statement by the press secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president to the effect that the RSFSR reserves the right to review the borders if the adjacent republics decide to secede from the Union provokes natural protest. This would seriously complicate interrepublican relations. The only democratic principle admissible in this case is the principle of sacred borders, which is recognized by the world community.

Zaslavsky Calls Supreme Soviet Session 'Farce'

OW2708154791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Iliya Zaslavsky who leads the Moscow branch of the movement "Democratic Russia" has described what is taking place at the emergency session of the Supreme Soviet as a farce.

As for the movement's attitude to the present session, he told IF [INTERFAX], much will depend on M. Gorbachev's statement for the session to be made Tuesday eveing.

According to I. Zaslavsky, so far there is no need to call the Muscovites for a mass demonstration with a view to exerting pressure on the Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless he stressed that "Democratic Russia" will do so if it becomes necessary.

Zhirinovskiy Protests Suspension of LDP Activity

LD2808041691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] of the USSR, sent a statement to the presidents of the USSR and Russia, the prosecutor generals of the country and the Republic, and the chairman of the USSR KGB. The letter protests the decision adopted on 23 August by a session of the Moscow City Soviet to suspend the activity of rayon and town organizations of the LDP in Moscow and to seal their premises. The LDP head states that this decision is not lawful and asserts that there is not a single fact confirming the LDP's participation in the events of 19-21 August. Zhirinovskiy believes this decision breaks the law on public associations in the USSR and the Constitution of the republic and the country. The statement contains a request for assistance to lift all restrictions on activities of the LDP and for public recognition of the fact that all the accusations against the LDP be withdrawn.

Moscow Secretary Prokofyev Surrenders

LD2708172291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Yuriy Prokofyev, Moscow City CPSU Committee first secretary, surrendered to the authorities of his own free will, but he never came to the Russian procurator's office, which initiated the search for him. Instead he went to the Moscow procurator's office. According to an IZVESTIYA correspondent, Yuriy Prokofyev has been interrogated by Moscow investigators, and his place has been searched.

Kalinin Monument Dismantled in Moscow

LD2508181791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1529 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—The monument to Mikhail Kalinin (1875-1945), one of the comrades in arms of Lenin and later of Stalin, was dismantled in the Soviet capital today. At various times he held high state office, including the post of chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The monument stood on one of the central avenues of Moscow, named after the selfsame Kalinin.

On 22 August a monument to another associate of Lenin's, Feliks Dzerzhinskiy, first chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, and two days later, a monument to Yakov Sverdlov, Russia's first president, were dismantled in the center of Moscow. Gavriil Popov, the capital's mayor, today appealed on Moscow Radio to the citizens to refrain from attempts to pull down monuments independently, without a decision to that effect by the city's authorities. In his view, all

monuments of historic or artistic value have in some form or other a right to exist and should not be destroyed.

Smolnyy Palace Sealed To Preserve Documents

LD2408170191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] INTERFAX reports the building of the Smolnyy Palace in Leningrad, which used to be the headquarters of the Leningrad Communist Party Organization, has been sealed.

This building is also symbolic of the Bolsheviks' victory in the 1917 Revolution. Then it was the Revolutionary headquarters of an armed uprising.

The Leningrad City Council has ordered to seal the Smolnyy building to preserve the party documents necessary to clarify the position of the Leningrad Party Committee during the recent coup, though some of these documents are reported to have already been seized by the workers.

According to Interfax Agency, the head of the Leningrad Party Organization, Boris Gidaspov, is seriously ill. During the putsch he tried to set up an emergency committee in Leningrad in support of the coup leadership.

Gidaspov Threatens Suicide if Brought to Trial

LD2808032591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpt] A correspondent of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY has learned that Boris Gidaspov has declared he will commit suicide if he is brought to trial for participation in the putsch of 19-21 August. [passage omitted]

Leningraders Honor Memory of Reformist Tsar

OW2708213191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Activists of a historico-patriotic association in Leningrad held a divine liturgy in memory of the Russian reformist Tsar Aleksandr II who lived in the 19th century. The action, the first such one over the decades of Soviet rule, took place near the tsar's tomb in the Petropavlovskaya Fortress on Monday. The organizers said that "progressive reformers have always been under death threat, and what happened to Aleksandr II last century narrowly escaped Gorbachev a few days ago."

Deputies Question Coup Stand of Karelia Official

LD2408193191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Some of the Karelia Supreme Soviet deputies think Stepanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, did not have a clear position. Yet, the majority did not agree with them. Stepanov's application to leave the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee has been taken into consideration.

More on Karelia Chairman

LD2508060191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The activity of official bodies and officials of Karelia from the beginning of the coup to its inglorious end was appraised at an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. A resolution adopted after stormy debate notes the lack of vigilance in the assessment of the situation displayed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Karelia. A group of deputies even demanded the resignation of Supreme Soviet Chairman Stepanov and his first deputy Aleksandrov, but by a majority of votes it was not adopted.

The session took note of Stepanov's statement of discontinuation of his membership in the Russian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. The [Supreme] Soviet chairman said this was because of the inactivity of the leadership of the party in Moscow during the coup.

The session instructed the Supreme Soviet Presidium to examine the question of handing the CPSU revolutionary committee building and the sociopolitical center over to the republic's parliament.

Murmansk Oblast Deputies Demand Emergency Session

LD2608084391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Peoples deputies who were taking part in an emergency session of the Murmansk Oblast Soviet Presidium have demanded the immediate convocation of an emergency session. A political appraisal of the ambivalent position taken by a number of members of the Presidium and individual oblast leaders during the period 19-21 August will be made at the meeting.

Mixed Reaction to Coup in Arkhangelsk

PM2308143791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 4

[V. Karkavtsev report: "Arkhangelsk Radio Operator's 'Mayak'"]

[Text] Arkhangelsk—The putsch, the morning of the day after: Suddenly "Mayak" relayed the Russian deputies' session. I hurriedly phoned my friends: Listen. We then learned that the opening of the session was only heard "live" in two cities—Arkhangelsk and Volgograd.

At this time everyone was deciding for themselves how to act. Local radio technicians, picking up the voice of Ruslan Khasbulatov via "Orbita," arbitrarily took over the "Mayak" frequency and illegally aired news from the Russian "White House." Yet at this time the ink had not yet dried on Yanayev's dread order on radio and television control...

The previous evening Aleksandr Ivanov, city soviet chairman, appeared on our television screens and said that the city had no intention of submitting to the putschists. Here is a typical detail: Neither the oblast leadership nor the union and Russian deputies who so love to "reach every home by television" responded to the invitation to come to the studio on Monday.

On Wednesday evening a flood of people swamped the television wanting to rebuke the putschists. This line ended with Gromoglasov, first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party oblast party committee and representative of the "vanguard of our society," but by then it was already known that the country's president was fully in control of the situation.

Komi Supreme Soviet Official Offers To Resign

LD2508113391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Extraordinary Supreme Soviet sessions opened in a number of towns today, at which the actions of their leaders during the period when the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency was operating are being discussed. One such session is under way in Syktyvkar. All members of the presidium accounted for themselves. (Aleksandr Romov), first deputy chairman of the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, tendered his resignation. On 19 August he sent to the chairmen of rayon and town soviets of people's deputies and to their executive committees a telegram directing them to follow the resolutions of the emergency committee.

Parliament Gets 'Vote of Confidence'

LD2508112191 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar August 25 TASS—The Komi Republic parliament Presidium was functioning strictly within the framework of the Constitution and republican laws during the coup attempt in the Soviet Union, reads a resolution by the emergency session of the republican parliament, passed on Saturday. The parliament Presidium ensured normal work of most enterprises, order and public tranquility, the resolution reads.

People's deputies listened to reports by the Republic parliament Presidium on their activities during the coup. Despite the intention by some Presidium members to resign, most deputies gave the Presidium a vote of confidence.

Kabardino-Balkar Republic Hunger Strike Noted

LD2608172391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The people's deputies of the extraordinary session of the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet have adopted by a majority of votes a resolution on the decisions taken by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic in the light of the political situation which has arisen in the country in connection with the attempted coup. On the whole, the decisions are considered to be correct and as insuring the functioning in the territory of the republic of the constitutionally elected bodies of state power and government, law and order, civic concord and the normal functioning of the complex of national economy. It should be noted that the decision did not satisfy the democratic forces of the republic. More than 60 people have gone on a hunger strike. The picketing of the house of government is continuing.

Democracy Rally Continues

LD2608223191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] A rally in support of the democratic reforms in the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic is continuing for the third day in Nalchik. Having condemned the actions of the republican leadership during the coup and the days following, the democratic forces are demanding their immediate resignation and the self-dissolution of parliament. Nine people's deputies have already relinquished their powers and joined those who have declared a political hunger strike at the House of Soviets. This afternoon pickets also appeared at the building of the republican state television and radio. The pickets' main demand is the resignation of the management and objective and regular coverage of the progress of the rally and the condition of those on hunger strike. In spite of the tense political situation, order is being maintained in the town. All enterprises, establishments, shops and transport are operating.

Yeltsin Representative in Novosibirsk Assumes Post

LD2608230891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy (Manokhin), special representative of the president of Russia in Novosibirsk Oblast, has assumed his duties. His task is to monitor the implementation of the decrees of the Russian president. (Manokhin) has submitted a proposal to the procurator ask those persons who went along with the putschists to account for their actions. As we have already reported,

the president of Russia has appointed his representatives in 12 oblasts, and also in Krasnoyarsk and Khabarovsk Krays.

Buryatia Parliament: No Confidence in Boldayev

LD2708230191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The parliament of Buryatia expressed no confidence in Boldayev, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, at a routine session. His position during the state coup in the country was deemed unprincipled by the majority of the votes of the people's deputies. The session instructed the republican Supreme Soviet committee for legislation, legality, and law and order to carry out an appropriate investigation of a number of leaders and people's deputies.

Chelyabinsk KGB Calls For Investigation

PM2608133991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By correspondent G. Shcherbina under the general heading: "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—V. Kalashnikov, deputy chief of Chelyabinsk Oblast KGB Directorate, has appealed to the IZVESTIYA office. He handed over, and asked us to publish, the following statement adopted at a meeting of the directorate's staffers:

"The collective of USSR KGB Chelyabinsk Oblast Directorate staffers, who have studied the USSR KGB Collegium statement published in PRAVDA on 23 August, deems it necessary to state the following. In our opinion, the USSR KGB Collegium does not have the moral right to speak on behalf of all security officers as its members took no exhaustive steps to defend the Constitutions of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—the explicit duty of state security organs. Moreover, during the period 19-21 August 1991, the Chelyabinsk Oblast KGB Directorate received instructions based on resolutions and decisions adopted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency that were signed not just by one of the organizers and active participants in the coup d'etat, Kryuchkov, but also by other members of this collegium.

"We demand their immediate resignation.

"A deputies' commission must be set up to investigate carefully and comprehensively the actions and negligence of each member of the collegium and leaders of the USSR KGB central apparatus during this critical period for the country.

"The investigation should answer the question: What specifically did each one of them do to stop the criminal actions taken by the putschists and their accomplices?"

Udmurtian Government Ignored Emergency Order

LD2508022591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The tentacles of the notorious SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] managed in a short time to reach the most remote regions of Russia. Speaking at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Udmurtia, (Mironov), head of the republic government, said the order to send troops and military equipment into the streets of Izhevsk during the putsch was issued by General Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals District. He was one of the candidates for the post of president of Russia.

An official report said the republic's government received a judicial directive from the SCSE to explain the emergency and set up the appropriate committee in the region, but neither the directive nor the order were put into execution by the legally elected power of Udmurtia.

Ryazan Oblast Response to Coup Described

LD2608194691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By correspondent T. Khudobina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Ryazan Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies started to set up an emergency committee in the first days of the revolt. This is proved by the minutes of the extraordinary emergency session of the oblast soviet of People's Deputies and tape recordings of the session. The membership of the committee was decided and was to include representatives of the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the oblast executive committee. The person initiating the emergency committee was none other than Leonid Khitrun, first secretary of the oblast party committee, who is also chairman of the oblast soviet.

According to Ryumin, chairman of the city soviet and a people's deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, on the morning of 19 August representatives of the oblast party committee and oblast executive committee, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB proposed that he cooperate with the emergency committee and demanded that he immediately end all activity in disseminating the decree of the Russian president, describing this activity as inflammatory. [passage omitted]

The paper of the Communists and the oblast soviet carried appeals, decisions, and decrees of Yanayev and others during those days. Even on 21 August not a single decree of the Russian president was published.

The local television carried a speech by (Bychkov), the deputy political head of the Ryazan garrison, calling for the introduction of a state of emergency in the oblast.

A commission is now working in the town soviet to investigate the impact of the coup on Ryazan Oblast. All the existing facts will be examined only in judicial proceedings, without violating the law or human rights.

Chechen-Ingush Accuses Leaders of Supporting Coup

LD2508100491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0926 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Groznyy, 25 Aug (TASS)—Last night was a troubled one in the capital of the Checheno-Ingush Republic (northern Caucasus). Several thousand inhabitants of the town and residents of the surrounding villages assembled at a meeting in support of the democrats who have triumphed in the Soviet Union accused the Republic's leadership of hidden support for the unsuccessful putschists and demanded their immediate resignation.

Later that night demonstrators destroyed the bronze monument to Lenin in the center of Groznyy, blockaded the building of the law enforcement bodies and the KGB, and assumed control of the local radio and television studios. Attempts by the authorities to find a common language with those at the meeting were unsuccessful. The law enforcement bodies did not offer any active opposition to them. No one was hurt.

It is planned that today the Republic's parliament will gather in extraordinary session with the aim of finding an acceptable, and most importantly a legitimate, way out of the crisis.

Leaders' Resignation Demanded

LD2708085391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Groznyy, 26 Aug (TASS)—Doku Zavgayev, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, has been accused by Salambek Khadzhiyev, USSR people's deputy and Union minister, of betraying his people during the days of the recent coup attempt. He was speaking today at an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, which met in connection with the acute deterioration in the situation in the republic.

The situation was aggravated by thousands of people holding meetings in Groznyy and districts of the republic for the fourth day running. The main demand is the immediate resignation of the whole leadership of Chechen-Ingush, who are accused of collaborating with the junta. The Chechen and Ingush peoples, from the very first hours, decisively came out against the putschists, while the leadership of the republic kept silent for two days.

The thousands of people who have taken to the streets are led by the Executive Committee of the All-National Congress of the Chechen People, around which all the republic's democratic forces have united.

Although the Presidium of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet has been meeting in Groznyy since morning, it hardly has real power any more. The House of Parliament and Government and a number of other administrative buildings, including the telephone exchange, have been blocked by representatives of the Chechen Executive Committee. They also control the mass media. Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the parliamentary committee, who urgently flew to Groznyy on the instructions of the Russian leadership, has called for the convening of a conciliation commission and for acceptable ways out of the crisis to be found.

This TASS correspondent was told by Ganga Elmurzayeva, member of the Presidium of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, that tonight or tomorrow the whole Presidium led by Doku Zavgayev will most probably resign.

Dagestan Rally Demands Parliament's Dissolution

OW2708153591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Several hundred residents of the capital of Daghestan, Makhachkala, have staged an unauthorized rally at the central square Monday to demand the resignation of the republican leadership, the dismantling of the Lenin monument at the square and the release of Khasbulat Khasbulatov. Daghestani authorities accuse Khasbulatov of playing a key role in organizing riots in Makhachkala in early summer which left several people dead and led to the imposition of a state of emergency. Thousands of Muslims, angry with increased cost of pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Medina (Saudi Arabia), were reportedly involved in the riots.

On Monday about 2,000 people gathered near the Council of Ministers building in the Checheno-Ingush capital, Grozny. They demanded the immediate dissolution of the republican parliament which, in their opinion, has collaborated with the State of Emergency Committee during the coup.

After an emergency meeting of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, its members Aslakhanov and Grigoryev urged the people to remain calm. According to the Russian Interior Ministry, the participants in the rally were extremely aggressive trying to seize a telephone exchange of the Council of Ministers. Nevetheless, the militia managed to stop them.

Even after most people returned to their homes in the evening, 250 persons stayed at the square determined to continue the rally until their demand is met.

Activities of Dagestan Communist Party Suspended

LD2608155291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Makhachkala, 26 Aug (TASS)—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Dagestan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has decided to suspend the activities of the republican organization of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party and of its town and rayon organizations. The party archives of the republican committee have been handed over to the archives of the administration of the Dagestan SSR Council of Ministers. The activities of party committees, primary organizations, and other structures in bodies of state power and administration, bodies of the procuracy, state security, internal affairs, justice and state arbitration and in the courts have been banned. A deputies commission has been formed in the republic to investigate the activities of persons who supported the anti- constitutional actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Tatar President Criticized; Parties Join Forces

LD2608014491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Ya. Validi report from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Validi] Mintimer Shaymiyev, president of Tatarstan, was one of those who expressed support for the junta in his address to the people of the republic on 20 August. But at a news conference on 22 August he congratulated the public on the victory of the democratic forces. The reaction to these congratulations was not what Mintimer Sharipovich had expected. [video shows news conference]

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you consider it moral for you to remain in the post of president of Tatarstan in this situation? [video shows protest demonstration, with pro-Yeltsin, pro-Gorbachev, anti-Shaymiyev posters; Russian flags and green flags with crescent are seen]

[Validi] On 20, 21, and 22 August there were rallies in Kazan at which people demanded the resignation of the reactionary cabinet. This served as a pretext for the consolidation of all the democratic forces of the republic. It is gratifying that the Kazan section of the Democratic Party of Russia and the Tatar party of national independence, Ittifak, which had previously been in conflict, joined in an alliance against the party nomenklatura. Let us hope that at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic, which opens the day after tomorrow, the deputies will be rational enough to join together too and express their attitude toward President Shaymiyev.

As for the Kazan City Soviet, an emergency session opened yesterday. So far it has made only one important decision—on the nationalization of all party property in the territory of the city. So far the city soviet has not adopted a decision to call for a vote of no-confidence against the leaders of the town and republic who supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Shaymiyev Refuses To Resign

OW2608154791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Meetings staged to demand that President Mintimer Shaymiyev and members of his council resign for having backed the conspirators continue to take place in Tatarstan.

In the meantime M. Shaymiyev declared that he has no intention of resigning. Tatarstan's legislation doesn't provide for constitutional methods of the president's resignation, except voluntary. The problem can be resolved solely by the republican parliament whose session, according to IF [INTERFAX]'s correspondent, has been postponed indefinitely.

On Saturday the Kazan City Council gathered for an emergency session and decided to seal all buildings belonging to the CPSU.

Rally Demands Defense of Tatar Sovereignty

OW2808141991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There was an unauthorized rally on Tuesday in Kazan organized by the Sovereignty of Tatarstan Committee on the first anniversary of the republic's declaration of sovereignty. 2,000 to 5,000 participants supported the independence of Tatarstan and the President of the republic Mintimer Shaymiyev.

An appeal of the Sovereignty of Tatarstan Committee was circulated claiming that the republic should sign the Union treaty only independently. If the republic is denied this, "It will choose an independent path and undoubtedly find reliable allies."

A declaration of the Tatar National Independence Party has also circulated following the speech of the acting chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov in the Soviet national parliament. The declaration describes the speech as an attempt of Russia to restrict the sovereignty of Tatarstan. The document urged citizens of the republic to defend its sovereignty and form a national guard.

North Ossetian Leader on Refugees, Food Supply

LD2408160291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 22 Aug (TASS)—"Residents of North Ossetia, like all Soviet people, are concerned

about the situation that is taking place in the country. They angrily condemn the attempted coup d'etat," reads a statement by Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic (one of the Soviet republics in the Caucasus). It was circulated today in connection with the events of August 18- 21. Having noted a connection between the situation in the center with that in localities, he recalled the measures being undertaken by the North Ossetian leadership in order to stabilize the republic. Ossetian refugees chased out of South Ossetia and other regions of Georgia continue to arrive there. There are 40,000 of them registered in Vladikavkaz. In addition to maintaining the required public order and protecting the honor and dignity of citizens, considerable work has been done to accomodate the refugees and provide normal living conditions for them.

At the same time, the North Ossetian leader noted that considerable difficulties can arise in the future, including a worsening of the food situation. In these circumstances there is no more urgent task than timely harvesting and preserving the harvest. According to preliminary estimates, North Ossetia has already fulfilled the state order for grain deliveries—it has sold more than 50,000 tonnes. It is expected that more potatoes, vegetables, and fruit will be gathered than last year.

Touching upon calls for strikes, the republican leader stated that any stoppage of production can result in catastrophe. He appealed to North Ossetian residents to be reasonable in this difficult hour, to maintain calm and restraint. "Only the consolidation of all healthy forces, rejecting reactionaries, plotters, extremists, and political intriguers can avert bloodshed," Akhsarbek Galazov said.

Galazov's Resignation Demanded

LD2708055891 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 0300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Six of the 15 members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of North Ossetia Soviet Socialist Republic have demanded the resignation of the head of the republic's parliament, Galazov. In their opinion he compromised hismelf during the coup by denying the actions of the Russian parliament and thus effectively recognizing the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Gorbachev Portrait Moves Show Shift in Policy

LD2808061691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] More details are being revealed about the behavior of some high-ranking functionaries of North Ossetia during the failed coup. Anatoliy Pavlenko, second secretary of the CPSU Committee, on the very first day of the rebellion took down Gorbachev's portrait and then, on 21 August, put it up again. He explained this manipulation as "restoration."

Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka Officials Leave Party

LD2308224891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka—Premyak, chairman of the Kamchatka Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, and Biryukov, chairman of the oblast executive committee, announced at a news conference today that they are leaving the party. They linked this to the latest events in the country. The chairman of the oblast soviet expressed gratitude to Kamchatka residents, labor collectives, and workers of state and law enforcement bodies of the oblast who displayed calm and restraint at this difficult time and supported the oblast soviet and its positions which condemn the actions of the conspirators. An extraordinary joint session of the city and oblast soviets is to meet here tomorrow, which will discuss the current situation.

Kamchatka Suspends Party Activity, Newspaper

LD2608100191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] CPSU and Russian Communist Party organization activity has been suspended in Kamchatka. Primyak, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, and Biryukov, chairman of the oblast executive committee, signed an order on this today. The building and club of the Party have been sealed and placed under guard, the production of KAMCHATKSAYA PRAVDA and other party publications has been suspended, and the property of party committees is being transferred to the control of local soviets. A commission has been set up which will study the possibility of finding jobs for staffers of the administrative apparatus of the party committees.

Problems With Kamchatka Cargo Fleet Viewed

OW2708122991 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0930 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Report by V. Plotskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The problem of renewing the cargo fleet has become an all-Union one, but the situation of the Kamchatka maritime fleet has become an especially worrying one.

[Begin recording] [Plotskiy] I will give only several figures: while the normal service period of ships is 22 years, almost 30 of the Kamchatka cargo ships should have retired to a well deserved rest five to eight years ago. These constitute about 30 percent of the dry cargo ships, passenger ships, and tugs in posession of the Kamchatka commercial cargo fleet.

Today, dry freight ships assigned to Petropavlovsk are being loaded and unloaded in the Petropavlovsk commercial maritime port. They should have been written off long ago due to old age. If we take into consideration

that a lion's share of the national economic cargo going to the Northern parts of the oblast, as well as to fishing villages and the fish processing combines in the South of the peninsula, is carried by the ships of the Kamchatka fleet, it is not difficult to imagine the situation the Siberians will find themselves in in the near future if the fleet is not reinforced with new ships from Novostroy. The maritime trade port of Petropavlovsk has excellent and stable personnel as well as modern equipment in sufficient quantities. If the cargo fleet worked well, the port workers could increase their efficiency by 30 or 40 percent, but millions, even hundreds of millions of rubles, and a large quantity of foreign currency are needed for the renewal of the fleet. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Kulagin] This problem became so acute that the USSR Cabinet examined the specific situation and issued a series of orders on reinforcing the Kamchatka fleet, but almost half a year has already passed and no practical result is forthcoming. I would like to address again to the Soviet Government and to the Republic's Government and call them to turn to solving the problem. [end recording]

Sakhalin Party Committee Secretariat Resigns

LD2308234991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The Secretariat of the Sakhalin Oblast Party Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party has made a statement on its resignation today on the local radio, reports the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. This step was motivated by the fact that the CPSU Central Committee still has not expressed its attitude toward the coup d'etat. It was decided to convene a plenum of the oblast party committee in the near future.

Maritime Kray Calls For Yeltsin Direct Rule

LD2608195391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The participants in the conference of democratic forces of the Maritime Kray have appealed to the President of Russia Boris Yeltsin to impose direct presidential rule on the kray and to transfer all the enterprises of the military-industrial complex, located in the kray, to the jurisdiction of the republic's government. During those terrible three days, these enterprises were supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Vladivostok Soviet Hails Pacific Fleet Neutrality

PM2208124191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent under general headline: "In an Atmosphere of Hope and Expectation"]

[Text] Vladivostok—Early in the morning, leaflets bearing the appeal to the citizens of Russia signed by President B. Yeltsin, I. Silayev, and R. Khasbulatov and appeals by local parties to citizens to participate in a rally to condemn the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR were pasted up in Vladivostok's central square, in underground passages, in public places, and at the gates of plants and factories.

An emergency session of Vladivostok City Soviet expressed appreciation and gratitude to the Vladivostok military garrison and troops of the Pacific Fleet for observing neutrality.

Belorussia

Supreme Soviet Examines Post Coup Situation

LD2608094291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Report by unidentified correspondent on the Belorussian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk on 25 August; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey resigned. The Belorussian Supreme Soviet accepted his resignation from the Belorussian Supreme Soviet chairmanship. The session proceeds emotionally, turbulently, and trenchantly:

[Begin Belorussian People's Deputy Z.S. Poznyak recording] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet session is into its second day. It is proceeding with great difficulty because 86 percent of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet deputies are Communists and, moreover, from the party nomenklatura. During the very first hours of the 19 August putsch, the opposition—the People's Front of Belorussia—came out on the side of democracy. It is a matter of great regret that the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium and Supreme Soviet Chairman Dementey, personally, effectively supported the junta, just as the junta was supported quite openly by the Belorussian Communist Party—that is, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, headed by its first secretary. That's why it was only today that Supreme Soviet Chairman Dementey's resignation came about, and all the issues that the opposition have raised have still not been examined, including the following matters: the personal responsibility of those who supported the junta; the prohibition and disbandment of the Belorussian Communist Party; the question of giving the declaration on Belorussian sovereignty the status of a constitutional law—that is, declaring Belorussian independence; the question of banning party activity, on removing the Communist Party from the republic; the question of transferring to the exclusive jurisdiction of the republic such organs as the KGB and the internal affairs ministry; and the question of creating a national army. Other matters include, in particular, the KGB and the question of the structure of political investigation and the structure of disinformation being destroyed so that at the next session a program for KGB actions might be presented. Apart from that, the question has been raised of holding the next session in the immediate future, which will pass a law on elections, announce the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, and announce new elections in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. [end recording]

Communist Party Activities Suspended

LD2708204691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet has decided to suspend temporarily the activities of the republican Communist Party on the territory of Belorussia. In connection with this, the main publishing house of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party has been transformed into the Belorussian Publishing House. This was done in order to ensure that people receive their newspapers and magazines, and that the labor collective has constant work. However, such a decision must be confirmed by the Belorussian Government.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Comments on Post-Coup Sovereignty

LD2708135491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Speech by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchak at meeting of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev—live; monitored in progress]

[Excerpt]...any documents, but in reply - absolute silence. I asked him: Who heads the Committee? He said there is no head [laughter and shouts]. Then I said we are going to live in accordance with our own laws. We are not going to retreat from sovereignty because we do not regard the Committee's decisions as lawful. And I went on: This cabinet includes the head of a sovereign state and I reject your threats. I have not received any documents from the Committee and therefore no discussion can be held. When I receive documents and when you display your mandate, then I will invite you.

What I am trying to say is not to support my personal role. What happened I heard—just like all of you—from radio broadcasts. And here I was dealing with generals in my office, without any protection for the Supreme Soviet chairman. My guard consists only of three officers. I possess a gun that I can use, apparently only in relation to my own person and for nothing else. The reception hall was full of aides-de-camps and other people who recommended taking the portrait of Gorbachev down and out of the premises [laughter].

I am relating all this to you - the scene was not minuted [as received], it was not possible to record anything - in order to place it into a chronicle, into history.

Please, also make allowances for the political specter of our Presidium. What is the Presidium? A board. And no one, including its chairman, can speed up the adoption of such an important decision or compel anyone to take this or that position. I expressed mine. That is why the decision was tortuous. All of us were searching, frequently in complete darkness, in the midst of dramatic collision and acuteness. For example,two opening sentences of the statement, as I already mentioned, were voted in name by name—so much were our views apart. The main difficulty was that we did not have a legal basis on how one has to act in such conditions. We have no legal mechanism that would immediately lead one to

resolute deeds with the aim of defending one's sovereignity, and not with words, but with actions.

We hoped—and I stress this—the people would support us. But let us be frank. The people see things today or yesterday in a different way, not like they saw them on 19 August. The morning of 19 August we did not know at all how they would react because our people were intimidated by the totalitarian regime for years and years. They know what collisions mean following a coup. We did everything possible to prevent the introduction of a state of emergency, to prevent the squashing of people, to avoid victims and the shedding of innocent blood.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet has no power to adopt extraordinary decisions or issue decrees. You know this only too well. I can only sign the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet or its Presidium. If I had a mandate to issue decisions or decress, I would have acted independently from the Supreme Soviet Presidium. I stress once again that everything I have said shows that what the Ukraine needs is the immediate introduction of presidential rule. Proceeding from the prevailing situation, I ask you to grant the chairman of the Supreme Soviet such powers that he could in corresponding circumstances issue directives of a normative character and also decisions on [word indistinct] norms of the law that could be enforceable on the whole territory of the Ukraine for the moment of having been signed.

However, even during those days of serious trials we managed to say what we thought and hold the situation under control. Numerous examples of responses to the Presidium's statement have confirmed that a majority of people approved of our position at that time.

I cannot omit the fact that the [word indistinct] struggle for sovereignty that we carried out so consistently during the whole year of our parliamentary activities was a tremendous support to all of us. Let me also admit sincerely and frankly that had we not adopted many laws and decisions on sovereignty, I am not sure such a conversation with General Varennikov could take place, especially with me not being able to refer to our own laws. With the absence of such laws we would be helpless.

As is known, various thoughts and attitudes are circulating today with regard to sovereignty. But without the declaration on the Ukraine's state sovereignty, without the decisions on its implementation, we just could not—I stress it once again—uphold our positions and the interests of the people in a very resolute and bold manner as we did. I presume this situation has rallied us even closer around the ideas of sovereignty, made us even more resolute and persistent to march along this momentous pathway to the very end.

As to various rumors and gossip about me in the capacity of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, I resolutely reject all sorts of accusations that I was indecisive, too slow, and that my personal position was unclear. I would like to stress that both in the conversations with the leaders of other republics and in the interview on 20 August and in my message to Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I continuously underlined the unlawfulness of the Committee's actions, called for the situation to be reviewed as soon as possible at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and insisted that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev be present there no matter what. By the way, during our conversation on 21 August, Mikhail Sergeyevich expressed sincere thanks for support in those difficult days. That is why I consider that in that difficult situation we acted reasonably in the interests of the law, the constitution, and our own people.

What conclusions must we and should we draw today in order to prevent something similar happening in the future? What further steps should we take along the pathway of legalist assertions of real Ukriane sovereignty? The first lesson learned lies in the fact that the [word indistinct] progressive transformations initiated in 1985 (?have become the people's own). It is precisely the people who have ceased to be slaves who have awakened within themselves the mighty feelings of their own dignity and responsibility for their fate and the fate of the country that have become a real obstacle on the pathway of the political adventurists, and who defended by all means possible the constitutional system and the lawfully elected president of the country. Therefore, our primary task is to continue with the all-round raising and developing of people's rule on a qualitatively new basis, strengthening democracy, and creating legal and material conditions for this.

The attempt by the putschists to seize power compels all of us to turn once again to the problematic questions of Ukrainian state sovereignty. The Supreme Soviet will have to resort to the most resolute measures in order to fill sovereignty up to the rim with genuine content [words indistinct] and provide constitutional protection.

In other words, it will be necessary to formulate and create as soon as possible all structures of sovereignty and create independent organizations within the system of social relations. The recent dramatic events showed that our republic is absolutely unprotected from external and internal adventures. Once again we do not possess a mechanism that will reliably protect the people and democratically elected power bodies from anticonstitutional actions by groups or individuals attempting to seize power and change the state system.

Therefore, we must: immediately create a council for the defense of the Ukraine that would be responsible for organizing the protection and defense of our state's sovereignty both in peace and war, work out a concept for creating in the Ukraine our own national guard, and pass laws on the status of army units dislocated on the republic's territory.

It would be expedient to include in the agenda of the next session a question on a temporary constitutional definition of the status of the Supreme Soviet chairman until a president is elected, so as to elevate him from the position of highest official, which he is now, to that of head of state. Naturally, the status of head of state should be conferred upon the future president.

Internal troops, the KGB, and the Ministry of Interior should be subordinated to the head of state. They must not be part of any union structures. What could be allowed is only coordination of actions. A legislative act on all these questions should be adopted immediately.

The time has come for departyization of law-and-order bodies in the republic. What is more, we already have corresponding initial decisions by the KGB and the Ukrainian Ministry of Interior board.

The recent events determine the need to speedily solve the question on creating a corresponding body for protecting the republic's constitution. A constitutional court should do the job.

In connection with the fundamental changes in the country we must also review our positions with regard to the content of the union treaty. The Ukraine can join only a union where participation excludes even the smallest possibility of encroachment by anyone upon our state sovereignty. [passage omitted]

Views on Foreign Recognition

OW2708210191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference in Kiev on Tuesday, the President of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, said that foreign governments had rationally evaluated the Ukrainian declaration of independence. The declaration was made a few days ago by the republic's Parliament.

However, in Kravchuk's view, recognition of independence and the establishment of diplomatic relations should happen only once the referendum has taken place, that is after the referendum will be held on December 1st along with elections for the republican presidency.

Officials React to RSFSR Border Issue

Statement 'Censured'

OW2708155991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aleksandr Yemets, a member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and leader of the republic's Democratic Rebirth Party, censured the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Secretariat's statement that some of the "secessionist" republics may face territorial claims from neighboring Russia. He told IF [INTERFAX] that this may destabilize the situation in both Russia and the Ukraine." [quote marks as received]

According to A. Yemets, his numerous contacts with Russian democratic leaders revealed the support of prodemocracy movements in the RSFSR for the republics' work for independence. Besides, "history shows that territorial claims have always led to hostility and bloodshed." A. Yemets described the Secretariat's statement as "careless."

Kravchuk: Territorial Claims 'Dangerous'

LD2708194891 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev August 27 UKRINFORM-TASS—In connection with a statement by the press secretary of the Russian Federation president released on August 26, which raised, on behalf of the Russian Federation President, the problems of borders between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the adjacent republics, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet authorised its press centre to make a statement because the Ukraine was not named among republics the territorial problems with which the Russian president considers as finally solved.

The document says that the leadership of the republic does not call in question the borders formed with the Russian Federation, respects its territorial integrity and does not have territorial claims to the RSFSR and other states.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet declares the Ukraine's readiness to discuss any border issues on the basis of the treaty between the Ukraine and Russia signed by Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin in Kiev on November 19, 1990.

Under Article 6 of the aforementioned treaty, the sides recognise and respect the territorial integrity of both republics "within the borders that now exist within the USSR".

The existence or absence of union relations between the RSFSR and the Ukraine cannot be the basis for putting into question the present borders between the republics, the statement points out. Also, there are no legal grounds to consider the statement by the Russian Federation press secretary as applying to relations between the Ukraine and Russia, the statement points out.

Addressing a press conference in Kiev today, Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk said in this regard that "territorial claims are very dangerous and in any case can end with great complications for people."

Kravchuk said that in a conversation with him Boris Yeltsin promised to give clarifications regarding his press secretary's statement.

On the decision to put all military units stationed on the Ukrainian territory under the control of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Kravchuk noted that "this has been only a political decision for the present." "We are not yet ready to govern troops. A Ukrainian defence minister will be appointed and a commission will be set up to enter into negotiations with the USSR Defence Ministry to draw up its own military concept."

"The Ukraine declared that it will be a nuclear-free state," Kravchuk went on. "But this does not at all mean that it must be weak."

On the future set-up of the Soviet Union, Kravchuk said he strongly favoured a confederation.

Supreme Soviet 'Ready To Discuss'

OW2708205191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has made public a statement in response to an earlier statement by the USSR president's spokesman who indicated that Russia may advance territorial claims to neighboring republics wishing to secede from the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian parliament says the republic's administration does not question the borders with the Russian Federation whose territorial integrity it respects, nor does it have any territorial claims to either Russia or neighboring states.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet says the republic is ready to discuss any border questions through talks with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] leadership on the basis between the Ukrainian-Russian treaty concluded in Kiev on November 19, 1990.

At the same time, the press center's statement says, under Article 6 of the Ukrainian-Russian treaty the signatories recognize and respect each other's territorial integrity "within the Soviet Union's borders," which means they recognize the borders as they were by the moment the treaty was signed.

It follows, the authors conclude, that there is no reason to consider the border question between the Ukraine and Russia unsettled.

Supreme Soviet 'Alarmed'

LD2708224291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Report by Ukrainian television correspondent Knyazhitskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk held a news conference today. Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent on whether he feels as if he were the marshal of a major European army that has come under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian republic, Kravchuk said that the appointed Ukrainian defense minister will head the armed forces, following his consultations with the union Defense Ministry. The interior troops will be fully accountable to the Ukrainian parliament. A national guard may be organized. A Supreme Soviet press center statement was read. It noted that the Ukraine, which has proclaimed its independence, does not lay any territorial claim to Russia and is prepared to discuss all the claims that Russia lays to the Ukraine. Generally, however, the statement on the subject made by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's press secretary has alarmed both the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and many observers. In answering your correspondent on what the world's reaction is to the Ukrainian declaration of independence and whether anybody has recognized it, Kravchuk said that no such statements have yet come in, but that that will take place following the 1 October [as heard] referendum, when the people will express its view on independence. However, even today financial proposals have come in, which will yield to the Ukraine tens of million of dollars.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] I will continue to adhere to the position I have always held, namely, that the Ukraine must be a sovereign state and that the union can only be a confederation. [end recording]

At its news conference tonight, the Narodna Rada opposition group also expressed concern over the statement on the review of borders. Having stressed their respect for the RSFSR president, the opposition has remarked on Moscow's great imperial sentiments.

Military Formations Subordinate to Parliament

LD2708182791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Decision of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR) Supreme Soviet on Military Formations in the Ukraine" issued by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk in Kiev on 24 August—read by announcer]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet resolves:

To subordinate all military formations deployed on the republic's territory to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet;

To create a Ukrainian defense ministry;

The Ukrainian Government must begin to create Ukrainian armed forces, a republican guard, and a subdetachment for protecting the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Cabinet of Ministers, and National Bank.

[Signed] UkSSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk

Kiev, 24 August 1991

Independence of Baltic States Recognized

LD2808083791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] In connection with the decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian republics on proclaiming state independence, the Presidium of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution recognizing the state independence of these republics.

The Ukraine Ministry of Internal Affairs has been instructed to hold congruent talks and sign agreements on establishing diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic.

The presidium's session was chaired by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

CSFR Consul Cited on Independence Recognition

OW2708204~91 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko, quoting information obtained from Czechoslovakia's consul in Kiev, has told IF [INTERFAX] that Czechoslovakia intends to recognize the Ukrainian republic's independence in the near future.

The Ukraine is hoping that other neighboring countries too will recognize its independence shortly, of which their diplomats have informed the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, A. Zlenko said.

Parliament Explores Printing of Own Currency

OW2708170991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF's [INTERFAX's] sources, the Economic Reform Commission of the Ukrainian parliament has explored the opportunities of ordering the printing of new Ukrainian banknotes, grivnas, with 5 foreign non-governmental firms, and found out that the first consignment of notes may appear in 13-15 months' time.

At present, there are 25-28 billion rubles (nearly 4 billion banknotes) in circulation in the Ukraine.

May Be Printed Abroad

OW2708220791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2109 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Several foreign companies have expressed their willingness to take an order to print the Ukraine's national currency, grivna, IF [INTERFAX] has been told at the economic reform commission of the Ukrainian parliament. The costs of having the first batch of banknotes printed are estimated at $400 m, and the execution of the order will take 13-15 months.

Experts believe that despite its declaration of independence, the Ukraine can hardly expect to receive its share of the Soviet gold, diamond and hard currency reserves any time soon, which undoubtedly will make the introduction of a national currency more difficult.

Moldova

Supreme Soviet Session Declares Independence

LD2708142691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1239 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Aug (TASS)—The Moldovan parliament today adopted a declaration on independence.

In a report to deputies, President Mircha Snegur stressed that the basis for guaranteeing this historic act is the right of the people to national rebirth and further prosperity. We reject the new Union Treaty, he noted, but that does not mean that we reject cooperation based on equal rights between republics that are members of the Union.

In the declaration, Moldova appeals to the United Nations to accept it as a member of that organization and expresses readiness to join the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. It also asks to be admitted on an equal rights basis to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Snegur Reviews Events

AU2708184691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 27/08/1991—The Parliament of Moldova has the privilege of legally sanctioning the aspirations of Moldovans and other nationalities, President Mircha Snegur told the Moldovan Parliament on 27 August.

Reviewing the main events in the history of Moldova, long at the heart of conflicting interests of great empires, that were as many anti-national blows, Mircha Snegur showed what socialism had brought to Moldova after it was severed from Romania's body: rape of territory,

organised famine, forced collectivisation, forced assimilation, controlled migrations—all pursuing the aim of annihilating the national sense.

Adding to that, the president of Moldova said, were five decades of monstrous economic experiments that brought imbalances and built an infrastructure unable to meet the people's needs.

Underlining the importance of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union which marked the start of a process of renewal also in Moldova, and an end to Romanophobia, President Snegur said that renewal was "hard and dramatic" but also irreversible. We reject the Union treaty, he said, but we favour mutually advantageous relations with any country, including those in the Union, President Snegur said adding that the resolution on the proclamation of independence endorsed by Parliament coincided with the people's aspirations to honour the will of their ancestors and bequeath their followers a long overdue legacy.

Mosanu Reads Declaration

AU2708154791 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 0940 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Draft independence declaration of the Republic of Moldova read by Alexandru Mosanu, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova, in the Supreme Soviet in Kishinev—live]

[Text] The Independence Declaration of the Republic of Moldova:

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova, set up in the wake of free and democratic elections—taking into account the millennia-old history of our people and their uninterrupted continuity in the historical and ethnic space of their creation—considers the acts of dismemberment of our national territory from 1775 and 1812 as running counter to the historical and national rights and to the legal status of the Principality of Moldova. These acts were actually invalidated by the entire evolution of history and by the freely expressed will of the population of Bessarabia and Bukovina. We emphasize the Moldovans' continuous existence in trans-Dniestria, which is an integral part of our people's historical and ethnic territory.

Taking note of the declarations of the parliaments of many states, we consider the understanding concluded between the Governments of the Soviet Union and Germany on 23 August 1939 as null and void and demand the elimination of the political and legal consequences of this accord—something that was also stressed in the Chisinau statement of the international conference on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences for Bessarabia, adopted on 28 June 1991.

We emphasize that, without consulting the populations of Bessarabia, north Bukovina, and the Herta territory, which were occupied by force on 28 June 1940, and the population from the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of trans-Dniestria, which was set up on 12 October 1924, the USSR Supreme Soviet, violating even its own constitutional prerogatives, adopted on 2 August 1940 the USSR law on the formation of the Union's Moldavian SSR, while on 4 November 1940 its Presidium issued a decree establishing the borders between the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR. All these legal documents tried to justify—in the absence of any real legal reasons—the dismemberment of these territories and the incorporation of the new republic in the USSR.

We recall that in recent years the national liberation movement of the population of the Republic of Moldova reiterated its aspirations for freedom, independence, and national justice, which were expressed in the final documents of the great national gatherings in Chisinau on 27 August 1989, 16 December 1990, and 27 August 1991, in the laws and decisions of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on decreeing the Romanian language as state language, reintroducing the Latin alphabet on 31 August 1989, adopting the state flag on 27 April 1990 and the state emblem on 3 November 1990, and changing the state's official name on 23 May 1991.

Proceeding from the declaration on state sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova, adopted by Parliament on 23 June 1990, and from the fact that the population of the Republic of Moldova, making use of its sovereign rights, did not participate in the 17 March 1990 referendum on the preservation of the USSR, despite the pressure exerted by the USSR state bodies; in view of the irreversible processes taking place in Europe and throughout the world for democracy, freedom, independence, and national unity, for the building of the state of law, and for the transition to the market economy; and emphasizing the equality of rights among peoples and their right to self-determination, in accordance with the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the norms of international law, we believe—in the light of all these considerations—that the great moment has arrived for carrying through an act of justice, in accordance with our people's history and with the norms of morality and international law. Consequently, we solemnly proclaim before the whole world, by virtue of the right of nations to self-determination, on behalf of the whole population of the Republic of Moldova, that the Republic of Moldova is a sovereign, independent, and democratic state, free to decide its present and future, without any outside interference, in accordance with the holy ideals and strivings of the people, within the historical and ethnical space of their national creation. [applause]

In its capacity as a sovereign and independent state, the Republic of Moldova asks all states and governments in the world to recognize its independence, as it was proclaimed by the freely elected Parliament of the Republic, and wishes to establish political, economic, cultural, and other relations of mutual interest with the European countries and all states in the world, being ready to proceed to establishing diplomatic relations with these

countries, in accordance with the norms of international law and the relevant practices extant in the world.

The Republic of Moldova calls on the United Nations to receive it as a full member in the world organization and its specialized agencies. The Republic of Moldova declares its readiness to adhere to the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe. At the same time it asks to be received within the CSCE and its mechanism on an equal footing with other countries. It calls on the USSR Government to begin negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Moldova on ending the illegal state of occupation and for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the national territory of the Republic of Moldova, which was annexed by the USSR in 1940.

It also decides that only the Constitution, laws, and other normative acts adopted by the legally constituted bodies of the Republic of Moldova should be applied throughout its territory. It guarantees social, economic, and cultural rights and political freedoms for all citizens of the Republic of Moldova, including the people belonging to national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups, in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act and the subsequent documents of the Paris Charter, for a new Europe.

So help us God. [cheers]

Adopts Independence Move

OW2708150191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 27, Moldova's parliament adopted a declaration of independence which proclaims Moldova a sovereign, free and independent state. Moldova's Constitution and laws alone are in force on its territory. The rights of all citizens are guaranteed in accordance with the Helsinki Accords.

282 deputies voted for adopting the declaration. No one voted against. No one abstained. This presents majority required by the constitution.

There are 380 seats in Moldova's parliament, but some of the deputies have not been elected yet. A large group of MPs [members of Parliament] failed to attend the session.

Addressing the session, Moldova's President Mircha Snegur said that the declaration of independence opens a new era in Moldova's history: A free and democratic future where human rights will prevail.

The people of Moldova expressed their striving for freedom with their firm stand, with their actions in the past 2 years, said M. Snegur. He reaffirmed the desire to maintain links with all Soviet republics. "The proclaiming of independence will place Moldova side by side with the nations who build their destiny on their own," Mircha Snegur stressed.

Moldova appealed to all governments of the world to recognize its independence and announced that for its part it is ready to establish diplomatic relations with them.

Moldova requested the UN to let it join the International organization.

Independence Rally Held at Assembly Square

LD2708105191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Aug (TASS)—The great national assembly of citizens of this republic proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Moldova this morning. Mircha Snegur, who spoke at the assembly, stressed that the hundreds of thousands of its participants who had come to Kishinev's central square were in possession of a mandate from the entire people. An emergency sitting of the republic's parliament opens at midday today at which this exceptionally important issue—the proclamation of independence—will be submitted.

The victory of democratic forces over the coupists does not give rise to any doubt that deputies will adopt a positive decision. This was stated by Aleksandr Moshanu, chairman of the republic's parliament, yesterday. Sociologists maintain that a significant shift in the mood of the republic's inhabitants has occurred. Four-fifths of those polled by the National Sociological Institute came out in favor of full independence for Moldova.

'Thousands' in Square

LD2708214891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in russian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Video report from Kishinev by correspondent N. Sokirke—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tens of thousands of people gathered on the square of the Great National Assembly in Kishinev at 1000 today. They gathered to express their attitude on the further fate of the republic and the people and, maybe for the first time in many difficult years, to decide their own fate. There were flowers and tears of joy, but everyone was united by a single irrepressible striving that could be expressed in three words: freedom, democracy and independence. Thus, the people supported the proposal by the republic's leadership well in advance of proclaiming independence.

That is why when at 1200 an extraordinary session of the parliament started its work there was only one question on the agenda—on proclaiming the independence of the Moldovan Republic.

In his introductory speech Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova, advanced good grounds for the historical

necessity of this act. He also stressed that independence should not be regarded as a bid to hide behind a narrowminded national shell. Moldova is prepared to restore diplomatic relations and cooperate in the spheres of politics, the economy, and culture on a mutually acceptable basis with all union republics and all countries of the world.

After reading out a draft of the act on independence the deputies, started a vote by name, and everyone signed his decision personally. At last the final accord sounded, and I dare to say that it was namely the accord that was expected by the entire people—out of 277 deputies who were present, a total of 277 deputies voted in favor of independence.

There is a festive occasion in Moldova today, 27 August 1991. Today history opened up a new bright page in the life of the Moldovan people, which has come about through much suffering. [video shows a many thousand-strong meeting on a square, a sitting of the parliament, Snegur speaking from the rostrum, deputies signing a paper, deputies giving a standing ovation, and people rejoicing in the street]

Snegur's Speech

AU2708101291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0856 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—Our sacred hope for liberty is within one step from fulfillment, the President of the Republic of Moldova Mircha Snegur said in his speech to the people of Moldova at the Great National Assembly in the Central Square of Chisinau [Kishinev] where scores of thousands of people have come in this historic morning of 27 August from virtually all parts of the country, to convey the will of Moldovan settlements for freedom and independence for their age-old land.

In less than two hours the parliament will meet to adopt Moldova's declaration of independence, the president said. You in this square have been mandated by the people and entrusted the historic mission of putting it before the parliament of the republic which represents the highest will of the people.

Recalling the road toward independence, the speaker said that that aim was "gravely threatened, that it hung in the balance".

On the fact that the communist party was banned throughout the territory of Moldova, because "only a communist-free republic can be independent", Mr. Snegur said:

Last week's events have amply shown the hypocrisy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's branch in Moldova. While the communist military gang in Moscow was preparing Gulags and ordered manacles for millions of democrats, for Yeltsin, for the leaders of sovereign republics, while in answer to our call thousands of patriots came from all parts of the republic and defended for three days and three nights sites of vital importance in support of the leadership of the republic, "great saviors of the nation" were waiting in Moscow the time when they could enter Chisinau riding a white horse.

The tanks and the armored cars that dangled about in those sleepless nights were kept off the city by the courage and unity of our patriots whose actions supported the firm position of the leadership of the republic against that base attempt to unwind history.

The people was with us, they supported us, they encouraged us. This sense of cohesion must never desert us. Just like the unity of democratic forces did not allow the junta to have its way, so our all-out unity can guarantee that the independence is not only proclaimed, but also achieved, it can guarantee true prosperity for our republic, President Snegur said.

In the closing part of his speech before the Great National Assembly at Chisinau, Mircha Snegur said: "now when every second takes us closer to the sacred hour of freedom, our hearts beat to the rhythm of these seconds, and our thoughts are building a bridge over the centuries to join the will of Stephen the Great and Sacred.

Today we all enroll, from the lowest to the highest, in his fearless army and swear to defend our independence to the bitter end".

Former Premier, Others Speak

AU2708164091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1550 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—

Mircha Druc: "Independence Will Mean Something Only by Union"

Former Moldovan Prime Minister Mircha Druc pointed out that Moldova's independence will mean nothing unless solemn oath is taken for the union.

"We shall never accede to Europe other than united, we shall never hold on unless united," said Mircha Druc.

Moldova cannot be considered really independent without thinking of her brothers in Cernauti [Cernovtsy], in Maramures, in Walachia and Transylvania, said the ex-prime minister, pointing out that the union of all Romanians must ensure equal conditions and rights for "all those that live on our ancestral land." He submitted to the vote of the great national assembly in Chisinau [Kishinev] the resolution of the "16 Decembrie" ["16 December"] National Alliance for Independence regarding the reunion of the Romanian kin calling "Union, Romanian Brothers!"

Muravski Address

AU2708104091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—Speaking before the people gathered in the Great National Assembly's Square in Chisinau [Kishinev], Prime Minister Muravski said the proclamation of the country's independence would make it possible for Moldova to solve its economic and social problems. He rejected assessments by independence opponents that, once independent, Moldova will turn poor and indebted and argued that, due to the efforts of its inhabitants, Moldova had, at the moment, a two billion ruble excedent of its trade balance.

Premier Muravski admitted that the people were still confronted with difficulties of economic nature, commodities shortages, but underlined that they were mostly ascribable to hindrances generated by the central authorities, to which Moldova's financial, banking and other sectors are still subordinated.

"We are of the opinion that the proclamation of Moldova's independence will not mean her isolation. We shall further develop our relations with all the other republics whether or not they choose to be part of the new union. We must develop our relations with all countries of the world, with Romania in the first place".

The prime minister of Moldova showed that, after the independence resolution is adopted, the Government of the Republic of Moldova would undertake several concrete steps to strengthen the country's independence, otherwise independence could remain an abstract concept. The first moves will be for Moldova's financial and banking independence, for security, for a national currency etc.

Premier Muravski assured the people that the government would do its best to translate into facts the resolution for the country's independence and ended with "long live independent Moldova".

National Alliance Resolution

AU2708140491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 0735 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Resolution drafted by the National Alliance for Independence of the Republic of Moldova read by Iurie Rosca, president of the People's Front of Moldova, at a mass rally in Chisinau (Kishinev) on the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova on 27 August—live]

[Text] Now, allow me to read the resolution drafted by the National Alliance for Independence, which will be submitted to parliament for endorsement. It is only one and a half pages long, so please listen to it.

The resolution of the great national gathering—27 August 1991—on immediate measures for the practical implementation of the state independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Having met for the second time on 27 August 1989, the great national gathering concluded the first stage of the national liberation movement of the Romanians in the occupied territories by imposing the Romanian language as the state language and returning to the Latin alphabet. Reiterating our endorsement for the great national gathering proclamation on 16 December 1990, which decided that Moldova should in no way participate in the formation of a political federation or confederation with the former Union republics, regardless of how enticing that might have been, we, the alliance—convened here, at a time of rapid dismemberment of the USSR, with a view to implementing the second stage of the national liberation movement: demanding the proclamation of the state independence of the Republic of Moldova, in full awareness of the urgent need to eliminate all consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the secret protocol of 23 August 1939 concerning Bessarabia and the north of Bukovina, as well as the consequences of the occupation act of 28 June 1990.

Aware of the importance of immediate steps to practically implement the state independence of the Republic of Moldova, the great national gathering asks the leadership of the republic to adopt the following decisions. As a matter of fact, the prime minister has already anticipated most of the points that, in our opinion, should be endorsed today by the parliament.

First: The national anthem of the Republic of Moldova will be "Awake, Romanian"—verses by Andrei Muresanu, music by Anton Pan. [cheers]

Second: The Republic of Moldova's nonparticipation in the drafting of any treaty of the union, federation, confederation, or community of sovereign or independent states among the former USSR republics. This decision should stipulate: The Republic of Moldova does not delegate any function and will not send representatives to federal leadership and coordination bodies; the cancellation of the 5 March parliamentary decision on the Republic of Moldova's concept of a community of sovereign states; and the development of economic relations, both with the republics that have declared their independence and with those that will adhere to the Union treaty.

Third: The formation of the National Guard of the Republic of Moldova. [cheers]

Fourth: The frontier along the Prut River should be put under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Moldova. [cheers]

Fifth: The customs office on the Prut River should be put under the republic's jurisdiction; [cheers] the creation of customs points along the entire frontier of the Republic of Moldova. [cheers]

Sixth: A ban on the KGB on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the nationalization of its assets, and the creation of a national intelligence service. [cheers] I saw Mr. Botnar, the president of the KGB, here on the rostrum. I believe he also agrees with our proposal. [booing]

We also demand: A ban on the activity of Soviet military commissariats throughout the Republic of Moldova [cheers]; a ban on the call-up of the Republic of Moldova's young people to the Soviet Army; repatriation of all citizens doing their military service, regardless of its length, in the Soviet Army; the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Moldova; the opening of negotiations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, on the one hand, and the Ukraine, on the other hand, concerning the territories arbitrarily placed under Ukrainian jurisdiction; the interests of the Republic of Moldova in international bodies should be represented, during the transitional period, by Romania's diplomatic representatives; the liberalization of the frontier along the Prut River between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, which may be crossed only with identity cards; the start of an enquiry into the activity of the PCM [Communist Party of Moldova] and KGB between 1940-1991 and the degree of the complicity of the leaders of these organizations in the 18-19 August 1991 coup d'etat; the creation of a charter of nationalities in the former headquarters of the PCM History Museum, on 31 August Street, which should also house national-cultural societies in the Republic of Moldova.

Here comes the last point: The establishment of a Russian-language daily for the democratic Russians in the Republic of Moldova. Thank you for your attention. [cheers]

Rally Adopts Appeal

AU2708193091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Republic of Moldova Proclaims Independence—Appeal to World Peoples and States"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—We the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, gathered today 27 August 1991 in the third grand national assembly in Chisinau [Kishinev], the capital city of the republic, address all the peoples and states of the world, while proclaiming the state independence of the Republic of Moldova, to let them know our irreversible option for the promotion of the genuine values of humanism and democracy abreast with European standards, was the appeal of the grand national assembly of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova to world peoples and states.

We are resolved to firmly pass on to building the state of law and a market economy throughout our national territory.

Deeply attached to the idea of observing the foremost human rights and liberties, we shall make the granting of full guarantees to ethnic minorities our actual credo.

Connecting the actions of our independent state to the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies, to the actions of European organizations, first of all of the Council of Europe, and other European structures, we intend to create in this part of Europe a zone of political and economic stability apt to help build the new political architecture of the continent.

To this end we are ready to stimulate the adherence of our republic to the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe, also wishing to be backed so as to be admitted to the CSCE and its mechanisms without delay and on an equal footing.

Trans-Dniestria Representative's Address

Speaking on behalf of the Romanians in Trans-Dniestria, who came by hundreds to the today's mass gathering in Chisinau, Petru Soltan, chairman of the "Trans-Dniestria" Society saluted in words pervaded by emotion the event to be soon confirmed by Moldova's Parliament: the country's independence.

"The time has come for us to be masters of our own land," reminding those present that, when the people demanded Romanian as the state language, the Latin alphabet and a national banner, the people won them. "We've been through trying moments, but we have come out victorious," said Petru Soltan referring to the tragic events in Trans-Dniestria and the south of Moldova.

Elena Baltishevskaya's Address

They scared us and they pitted us one against the other with this word "independence," said Elena Baltishevskaya who represented the Moldova Demokraticheskaya Organisation at the great national assembly of Chisinau. The speaker has pledged her organisation's full support for the independence of the Republic of Moldova which, she said, signifies our return to Europe. We see the proclamation of Moldova's independence as the guarantee of respect for human values, for human rights, Elena Baltishevskaya said.

Lithuanian Spokesman Conveys Message on Independence

In his speech, Eugenie Haidukaitis, chairman of the Society of Lithuanian Culture in Moldova, reminding that, after having been exiled, although only a child of 11, with his family to Siberia, where he knew to the full the inferno life reserved to minorities in the Stalinist gulags, showed that the Republic of Moldova, whose citizen he was proud to be, had long become his true homeland.

"This is a great day for Moldova," he said. "The independence of Moldova is not a gift, it is the result of the Moldovans' long struggle. I am a Moldovan citizen and for me it is a great honour to witness the moment in

which Moldova has won over the forces of totalitarianism. I swear on my knees, before you here, to fight to the end of my days for the independence of Moldova and Lithuania. Let us be vigilant and defend our independence," ended the speaker.

Attempt to Block Participants

AU2808084491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0701 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1991—The minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, Ion Costas, said on the Chisinau [Kishinev] National Television that trans-Dniester paramilitary units tried, on August 27, to hinder Moldovans from beyond the Dniester to come to the great national assembly in Chisinau. A number of people were hurt and injured. Moldovan tricolours were torn. Local police took steps and the conflict was solved. In spite of this action, thousands of Moldovans from beyond the Prut took part in the great national assembly of Chisinau, attended the historic act of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

President Snegur Interviewed on Independence

Discusses Independence

AU2608192691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1647 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 26/8/1991—I have no doubt that Romania will be the first country of the world to recognize Moldova's independence, stated President Mircha Snegur of the Republic of Moldova in an interview granted on Monday [26 August] to Western journalists who arrived in Chisinau for the Tuesday [27 August] event: the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Answering a question regarding Moldova's union with Romania President Mircha Snegur assessed it was risky to force things as concerns such a delicate issue. At present it is better to liquidate cultural, economic barriers, to join the European exchange of assets.

As for the relations with the other republics President Snegur said that he would insist in favor of the signing of mutually advantageous bilateral accords with those republics.

He expressed the belief that the Russian Federation would be among the first states to recognize the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Comments on Republic's Future

LD2608220791 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondent Yelena Tsorina]

[Text] Kishinev August 27 TASS—President Mircha Snegur of Moldova was sharply critical of the leaders of the Dniester and Gagauz regions in an interview he gave to journalists representing a number of Western news agency and periodicals here on Monday.

He said "honest people residing there, who have not smeared themselves by collaborating with the criminal leaders of the coup d'etat, will remain the republic's fully-fledged citizens, while collaborators will be taken to account".

Touching upon the problem of unification with Romania, the president noted that it is a risky business trying to speed up events when a delicate issue like this was at stake. "At present it is important to do away with obstacles of cultural and economic nature that separate us and work towards integration in the system of European values," he stressed.

Snegur favoured the signing of mutually beneficial treaties with all republics. "But not more, because independence is the entire people's creative endeavour, and it is up to the people to decide their further destiny," he stressed.

Snegur praised the role played by Boris Yeltsin in the liquidation of the coup and expressed confidence that Russia would be among the first to recognise Moldavia's independence.

Leaders Issue Statements on Independence

AU2708195591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1844 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—After the proclamation of Moldova's independence, the leadership of the republic made exclusive statements to "ROMPRES" special envoys:

The president of the republic, Mircha Snegur: Days of joy will come, but we are aware that many difficulties are also in store for us. However, we are convinced that we shall surmount them while being supported by the people, by the world community and, above all, by Romania.

The speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Alexandru Mosanu: After the proclamation of independence we enter the hardest stage, that is its translation into fact. We are sure that Romania shall back us to consolidate our independence. In the wide-scope and complex process we have opened up we rely primarily on ourselves and on Romania.

The prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, Valeriu Muravski: We must urgently undertake organizational, economic, financial and other measures to build up true independence.

We shall expand bilateral collaboration with various states. In the context, I would like to underscore the significance of the recent accord between the Governments of Moldova and Romania, which paves the way for the development of our relations.

The mayor of Chisinau [Kishinev], Nicolae Costin: We need independence for our national redemption, for a gradual integration, materially and spiritually, with our brothers across the Prut. National independence provides conditions for our reunion with the homeland, for national unity, a natural and well-pondered unity.

Mosanu on Indpendence

AU2608144191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1410 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/8/1991—Assessing that the time has come, so much expected by the citizens linked soul and body to the ancestors' land, by all those who have fought years on end for the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the republic, the presidium of the parliament decided in its 25 August meeting to take the decisive step toward proclaiming the independence of the Republic of Moldova, said the speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Alexandru Mosanu, in a statement to "ROMPRES" special envoys.

The parliament's presidium assesses that both the internal and the external conditions are favorable for the accomplishment of such a grandiose political act. The Grand National Assembly of Moldova's citizens was convened in the morning of 27 August in the Central Square of Chisinau [Kishinev] to have its say on this essential matter, so important for the destiny and the future of the republic, while at midday a special session of the parliament to sanction the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Moldova will be held, Mr. Mosanu also said.

Georgia

Supreme Soviet Bans Communist Party Activities

LD2708172391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] At an extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, President Gamsakhurdia expressed his opinion that the victory of democracy in Russia will facilitate the resolving of problems concerning Abkhazia and South Ossetia. He demanded that the Supreme Soviet grant special extraordinary powers to the leadership of the autonomous republics of Abkhazia and Adzharia. In compliance with a decision of the republican Supreme Court, the Supreme Soviet banned the activities of the Georgian Communist Party as those of a criminal organization.

State of Emergency in South Ossetia Prolonged

AU2808080491 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The following is a decree by the president of the Republic of Georgia on the prolongation of the state of emergency in the town of Tskhinvali, Dzhava rayon and [word indistinct] territory.

To prolong the state of emergency in the town of Tskhinvali, Dzhava rayon, and [word indistinct] territory for a period of one month beginning on 28 August 1991.

A curfew is to be in force from 2200 to 0700.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 26 August 1991

Gamsakhurdia Urges Restored Order in Abkhazia

OW2708171391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian President, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, speaking in the republic's Parliament on Monday, called for order to be restored to Abkhazia where, he said, the local organs of power do not in fact recognise the authority of the Georgian President.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia announced that Georgia was fighting "not against the Ossetian people nor against Ossetian nationalist ideology but against criminal elementsn.

Meanwhile, Zurab Achba, the Vice-President of the Abkhazian Popular Forum "Aidgylar" said in response to President Gamsakhurdia's announcement in the republic's parliament that "the Georgian Government intends to neutralise by means of repression the legal aspirations of the Abkhazian peoples to remain within the Union and sign the Union treaty".

National Guard Ordered To Return to Barracks

OW2708171691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet on Monday called on the National Guard to return to barracks and to fulfil their duty before the motherland with a clear conscience.

MPs assured the Guards that those who returned to their barracks would not be subject to disciplinary investigations.

About 10,000 National Guards led by their commander, Tengiz Kitovani, walked out of their barracks at the beginning of last week. Unofficial sources say that they refused to be subject to the Georgian President as a sign of protest against his decision to disarm the National Guard in fulfilment of the State of Emergency Committee's decree on the disarming of unlawful armed groups.

Moldovan Independence Recognized; Talks To Begin

OW2808144191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia has recognized Moldova as an independent and full-fledged subject of international law.

A Tuesday decree of the Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia instructs the Georgian Foreign Ministry to begin talks with Moldavian counterparts on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two republics.

The decree urges all sovereign states to recognize the independence of Moldova.

Communists Deny Alleged Pro-Coup Stance

AU2708163191 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 22 Aug 91 p 3

["A Declaration by the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party"—21 August 1991; place not given]

[Text] Today, the newspaper TSKHOVREBA [organ of the Georgian Communist Party] published information from the press center of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on the session of the Central Committee Bureau.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee clarifies that a session of the bureau was held on 19 August 1991 at which, together with other questions, views were shared in connection with the introduction of a state of emergency in the country.

However, the information given incorrectly reflects the bureau's attitude toward this course of events and the Committee for the State of Emergency, and does not correspond at all to the essence of the resolution adopted by the bureau.

It was noted at the session of the bureau that, in the complex situation that has been created, the republic's population should manifest restraint and calm and not permit imprudent, hasty, and emotional actions.

It is significant that the instructions given by the bureau to the rayon committees coincided with the position of the republic's leaders to the stated question that, to a great extent, was conditioned by a stabilization of the political situation in the country.

The full text of the resolution of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau will be published in this Saturday's edition of TSKHOVREBA.

The Secretariat of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee
21 August 1991 **FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: [capitalization as published] We would like to believe that the declaration is true but it is difficult to do so. Perhaps the editorial office of TSKHOVREBA can explain to us how this information appeared on the first page of the paper.**

Armenia

Defense Official Denies Reorganization of Forces

OW2708205291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Armenian Supreme Council for Defence and National Security, Vazgen Sargisyan, denied rumours that the republic's Defence Committee was combining all armed units into a single National Guard. "No such order has been given", he said, "but we need to establish a National Guard and are ready to do so". In a television interview he spoke out in favour of normal relations with the army.

Mr. Sargisyan noted that "the commanders of the 7th army, stationed in Armenia surprised everyone by remaining loyal on 19th - 20th August". Meanwhile, he continued, "unfortunately there continues to be acts of provocation against the 7th army". These, he says, can be interpreted as acts of provocation against the hole of Russia.

The President of the Armenian Supreme Council also called for normal relations with the army.

National Movement Favors Faster Independence

LD2808134191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The Armenian National Movement has held its congress in Yerevan. The chairman, Vano Siradegyan, called for speeding up sharply the process of Armenia attaining independence. However, he added, we should admit that today we are not ready for independence politically, economically, or morally. The congress unanimously nominated the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, Ter- Petrosyan, to run for the president of the republic. The elections are to be held next month.

Azerbaijan Communist Said to Support Coup

NC2708100491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Aug (ARMENPRES)—On 23 August, USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan sent a cable to the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The cable says: At the height of the disturbances, many heard on the radio the voice of V. Polyanichko, former head of a section at the CPSU Central Committee, adviser of Moscow in Afghanistan, and current second secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, welcoming the coup and calling on country's people to support the state of emergency committee. Polyanichko stated that it was the time to establish law and order in the country and that the state of emergency committee would finally bring Armenia into line. He did not forget to point out that Nagorno-Karabakh was a military practice zone for the state of emergency committee, the experience from which would have helped the introduction of a nationwide state of emergency. According to Polyanichko, one of Azerbaijani President Mutalibov's assistants went to Moscow to take part in the apparatus of the state of emergency committee there.

Insurgent Polyanichko is correct in one aspect: Nagorno-Karabakh has really turned into a military practice zone for the members of junta who have gained experience on the long-suffering land of Nagorno-Karabakh. The plans for the deportation of the population of the ancient Armenian villages of Getashen, Martunashen, Berdadzor, and the villages of Shaumyanovskiy and Gadrutskiy rayons were drawn up in the offices of Yanayev, Pugo, Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Polyanichko.

The surprising fact is that this active junta supporter, being a party official, considers himself the representative of the so- called organizational committee in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Supreme Soviet Examines Presidential Candidates

NC2808092891 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The regular meeting of the Central Electoral Commission for the

election of deputies to the Armenian Supreme Soviet took place on 24 August under Robert Amiryan.

Aleksandr Stepanyan, a member of the electoral commission, delivered a report on the nomination of Paruyr Ayrikyan as a presidential candidate by the National Self-Determination Association.

The commission decided to accept P.A. Ayrikyan's nomination and hand out special blank booklets to the National Self-Determination Association to collect 15,000 signatures of the Armenian republic voters supporting his candidacy for the post of president of the Armenian Republic.

Commission members Martin Margaryan, Aleksandr Agababyan, and Armen Ashrafyan delivered reports on the result of the examination of the signatures of citizens sponsoring the nomination of Armenian Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan, USSR people's deputy Zori Balayan, and President of the Armenian Commercial Banks Association Myasnik Akobyan as presidential candidates.

The commission decided to accept the nominations of Vazgen Manukyan and Zori Balayan as presidential candidates and to hand out special blank booklets to the sponsoring groups to collect 15,000 signatures needed for their candidates' nomination.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 0600 GMT on 28 Auguts in its review from HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN reports: "The Central Electoral Commission for the election of deputies to the Armenian Supreme Soviet held its regular meeting yesterday under chairman Robert Amiryan.

["A statement issued on the meeting says that before examining the questions on the agenda, the commission heard a report from the first deputy communications minister about the ministry's activities on the organization of the republican presidential elections.

["The meeting examined the signatures of the citizens sponsoring Levon Ter-Petrosyan as presidential candidate, and the nomination of Sos Sargsyan as presidential candidate by the Central Committee and Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

["It was decided to hand out blank booklets to the sponsoring groups of the two candidates to collect the 15,000 signatures needed to defend their candidacy.

["The commission also examined other other measures pertaining to the elections."]

APM Supports Ter-Petrosyan

NC2808103591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 0600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] As previously reported, the third extraordinary congress of the Armenian Pan-National Movement [APM] opened yesterday at the sports-cultural complex in Yerevan.

A report published in the paper notes that the congress heard and examined the political report of APM Chairman Vano Siradegyan, discussed the nomination of the APM candidate for the post of president of the republic, and considered organizational and related matters.

The congress voted to propose Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan as the APM candidate for the post of president of the Armenian Republic with 614 voting in favor and 1 opposed. The congress also adopted an appeal to the Armenian people on the 21 September referendum.

The congress sent congratulatory cables to the Baltic states in connection with their declarations of independence and recognition by various countries. It sent similar cables to Moscow and Leningrad on the occasion of the victory of democracy against the conservative forces.

The APN's third congress concluded its deliberations on the same day.

Earlier Nominations Noted

OW2708213291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, the 3rd congress of the Pan-Armenian Movement (PAM) nominated the head of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, for the republic's presidency.

Eight other persons were nominated for the post earlier, among them Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan, parliamentarian Zoriy Balayan, the leader of the Union of National Self-Determination Paruir Ayrikyan, and the head of the parliamentary commission on science, education, language and culture Rafael Kazaryan.

Presidential elections in Armenia are scheduled for October 16.

Republican Party Press Adopts Independent Stance

LD2808055491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1918 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 26 (TASS)—The Armenian Republican party newspapers AYASTAN and GOLOS ARMENII have become independent publications. The decision was reached today at editorial staff meetings of the two newspapers, which have been published since 1920 and 1934 respectively by the Central Committee of

the Armenian Communist Party. The journalists announced that both papers, while retaining their names, will be open for various political forces, organiztions and trends, of various opinions.

RSFSR Deputy Demands Trial of Military

OW2308195291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] People's Deputy Anatoli Shabad declared that he would seek criminal proceeding against the military commanders "who had committed brutal crimes against the Armenian population."

Shabad who is now in Yerevan named, among others, Lieutenant General Sokolov, commander of the 4th Army currently stationed in Azerbaijan, and the command of the 23rd Division of the Army.

"The anticonstitutional coup pushed Karabakh into the background, but the problem is still with us," emphasized Shabad in a interview with INTERFAX.

Taking soldiers hostage in the Armenian village of Aterk was not, according to the deputy, "the best of steps on the part of the Armenian population," but it was the only possibility for the Armenians to put their pressing problems under the spotlight.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Invites Discussion on Independence

LD2708143191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] According to a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY report, Azerbaijan President Mutalibov addressed the people of the republic on television on 26 August. He invited all political forces to the conference table to form a government of national accord and to set up a national army.

Mutalibov declared that he is not implicated in the raid on the headquarters of the National Front of Azerbaijan and the breaking up of the meeting. On the same day, for the first time since the events of January 1990, the National Front of Azerbaijan held a meeting in Lenin Square, within a dense ring of military vehicles, at which about 30,000 people gathered. Demands were made to convene an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan and to declare state independence.

Issues Decree on Departyization

LD2708224191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan has issued a decree on the departization and depoliticization of all state structures. The TURAN agency, referring to presidential sources, reports that the leadership of the republic's Communist Party intends to announce it is dissolving itself and then to create a new party of national revival.

Communist Party Reportedly To Dissolve

LD2808131591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpts] In Azerbaijan the confrontation of political forces has again aggravated. The opposition has called for holding a meeting in Baku this evening.

Participants at the meeting on Monday demanded, among other things, the convening of an emergency session of parliament to assess the action of the leaders of the republic who supported the State of Emergency Committee and who proclaimed the independence of Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

It has become known from reliable sources that leaders of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan intend to announce a self-dissolution of the party and formation of a new one.

Nakhichevan Communist Party Committees Closed

OW2708171991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An emergency session of the Medjlis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic within Azerbaijan decided on Tuesday to dissolve the republic's Communist Party and nationalize its property. Activists of the Azerbaiiani Popular Front say the regional and city party committees in Nakhichevan have been sealed. The Lenin monument in Nakhichevan's central square was dismantled in the presence of city leaders on Monday.

Control Taken of Legal Affairs, Party Property

LD2808161591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Baku, 28 Aug (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Under a decree issued by Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, the management of internal affairs bodies, state security, the prosecutor's office, and justice is from now on under the exclusive authority of this transcaucasian republic. They are to be guided in their work solely by the Constitution and the republic's laws and by decrees and instructions from its president. This decision was reached in accordance with the Constitution of Azerbaijan and its sovereignty law.

Another presidential decree instructs the Cabinet of Ministers to ensure that enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction on the republic's territory must

be brought within the control of bodies of state administration by 1 January 1992. The only exception is for a limited group of them, the management of which it is expedient temporarily to leave within the control of USSR state bodies.

A presidential decree on the property of the Azerbaijan Communist Party is also published. According to this decree the building housing the Lenin museum is handed over to the republic's Ministry of Culture to establish a museum center, while the building housing Baku party gorkom is to become a fine arts museum.

The Center for Political Enlightenment and the Kommunist publishing house which prints republican and city papers now have new owners. The former has been handed over to the Baku Executive Committee and the latter to the republic's Press Committee.

'Democratic Forces' Stage Demonstration in Baku

OW2708115891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, Azerbaijan's democratic forces staged a meeting in Baku. Speakers called for convening the republic's parliament for an emergency session on Tuesday. According to estimates, the meeting gathered tens of thousands of people.

The parliament should conduct a session to pass a new bill on elections, both parliamentary and presidential, speakers said.

The meeting was attended by the leaders of the democratic movement and Popular Front. Deputy Chairman of Azerbaijan's parliament, Popular Front Chairman Tamerlan Garayev was also present.

According to those who organized the meeting, if the parliament fails to convene for an emergency session on Tuesday, on Wednesday a general strike will begin in Azerbaijan.

Lenin Monument Dismantled; Square Renamed

LD2708085591 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Baku August 26 AZERINFORM-TASS—The main square of the Azerbaijani capital, until today called Lenin Square, will henceforth be called Azadlyg (Freedom) Square.

The decision to rename the central square, made by the Presidium of the Baku City Council of People's Deputies, was prompted by numerous requests from citizens.

The monument to Vladimir Lenin in the square will be dismantled and transferred to another place, AZERINFORM was told by a spokesman for the City Council.

TV Coverage of Mutalibov Debate Criticized

NC2708094091 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Our friends in the [word indistinct] program of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Television Network have openly supported the Armenian nationalists by covering the rumors spread in connection with the views expressed by President Ayaz Mutalibov during his official visit to Iran, rumors which we have openly rejected. The claim is that President Mutalibov, while replying to a question from an IRNA correspondent on 20 August on the situation in the Soviet Union, said that Gorbachev's ousting was the natural outcome of the process put into effect during the past (?year), which has created a chaotic situation in the USSR. Mutalibov is also reported to have said "we applaud the progress made by the peoples in the Soviet Union" and added: [Words indistinct] on the internal situation in Azerbaijan.

AZERINFORM has asked TASS to explain their stand on the issue. The TASS correspondent in Iran has brought the matter to light. (?Kasmumov), assistant chief editor of the TASS foreign news department, has officially stated that President Mutalibov did not make that statement in Iran; furthermore, it is common knowledge that President Mutalibov was not in Iran on 20 August. He flew back to Baku on 19 August.

[Word indistinct] also quoted a report by its correspondent in Baku on what President Mutalibov said to the officials at the airport. Mutalibov reportedly said: Thank God, we shall be able to solve all our problems.

We have contacted all the officials who were at the airport that night. None of them confirmed the [word indistinct] correspondent's report. This is not the first time the [word indistinct] program of the RSFSR Television Network deliberately distorts the reports its receives from Azerbaijan or fabricates [words indistinct] with a view to discredit our republic and people.

Ministry Denies Rumors on Troop Withdrawal

NC2708104791 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs has released the following information: Many appeals have been received from citizens in connection with the recent rumors that the military units will soon be withdrawn from the Azerbaijani rayons bordering Armenia. To clarify the situation, Major General Magomed Asadov, minister of internal affairs, has said the following: There is no reason to be uneasy. The information on the withdrawal of troops is incorrect. The effort to undermine the people's confidence in their security is aimed at creating mass discontent and confusion.

Asadov has asked the new Soviet Defense Ministry to guarantee that the military units will maintain their positions until the regional situation is fully stabilized.

The republic's law enforcement organs have urged our people to maintain law and order, act with caution, refrain from being carried away by provocations, and avoid following those who wish to [words indistinct].

Deputy Wants Yazov, Kryuchkov Charged

LD2708204491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Karayev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, has presented a demand to the USSR Supreme Soviet that criminal proceedings be instituted against Yazov, former minister of defense, and Kryuchkov, former chairman of the KGB, as organizers of the events in Baku in January 1990. This is reported by the TURAN agency. Karayev has also demanded a review of the status of the republican organizational committee for the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the dismissal of Viktor Polyanichko, the plenipotentiary chairman of that committee, since he is destabilizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Kazakhstan

President Not Optimistic About Gorbachev Meeting

OW2708172591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has said he feels "no particular optimism" about Tuesday's meeting of the leaders of three republics—Russia, Kyrgyzia and Kazakhstan—with President Gorbachev. He told journalists that the events of last week had caused him to take a fresh look at many things," including the various future models of the union of Soviet republics.

N. Nazarbayev expressed concern over Gorbachev and Yeltsin's "inconsistency" with regard to the border question. If 10 days ago Yeltsin spoke about the unconditional recognition of the republics' sovereignty and borders, today he indicates that these borders may be reviewed, he said. Gorbachev, who has always defended the principles of equality in inter-republican relations, agrees today that the top posts in the Union administration should belong to Russia, Nazarbayev said.

The Kazakh president complained that he is "not sure that the latest agreements, which were reached without the participation of all the republics, will be solid ones."

Further on Nazarbayev Fear of Wars

OW2708215891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2109 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has spoken out for the creation of a joint economic council composed of the republics' representatives instead of a cabinet of ministers.

Mr. Nazarbayev, speaking to journalists, has argued that political independence of all republics which expressed their wish to become fully independent should be recognised. In 2 or 3 years' time, he said, economic issues "will force us to create a federation, it is a need which should be understood by all republics".

The president of Kazakhstan, the largest Asian republic in the Soviet Union, said he feared inter-republican wars may break out in case Russia raised the question of reviewing the existing borders.

On Monday, Russia said it reserved the right to review its borders with the neighboring republics if they chose to leave the Soviet Union.

Democrats Favor Early Parliamentary Election

OW2408165391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan's democratic movement has come out with the statement that it is necessary "to fully departify state power structures, hold an early parliamentary multi-party election and nationalize the Kazakh Communist Party publishing houses and printing facilities." A statement signed by the representatives of ten democratic parties gives high grades to the stand of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the democratic movement that "resisted the restoration of a barracks-style unitary state."

The representatives of Kazakhstan's democratic movement criticized the position of the republican president who stated his opposition to the coup only when the coup was in its second day. According to the movement, the republican Supreme Soviet and the Kazakh Communist Party Politburo issued a condemnation of the Emergency Committee only following the failure of the coup attempt, said the movement.

The statement also urges the formation of a national guard in Kazakhstan.

Republic Determined To Create Own Gold Reserve

OW2608093091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The extraordinary session of Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet (parliament), which ended on the night of August 24-25, adopted amendments to the republic's Constitution and also endorsed steps that considerably broadened the economic independence of the USSR's largest Asian republic. The economic program adopted includes the setting of an independent gold reserve for the republic.

The National State Bank of the Kazakh SSR was asked to consolidate all the credit resources available to the republic and to utilize them, as of November 1991, for the purchase of precious metals from enterprises and organizations. Furthermore, a re-registration of all commercial banks on the territory of the republic, including branches of all-union banks, is to be completed by September 25.

The republic's cabinet of ministers was assigned the task of establishing facilities for refining gold and silver in 1991.

In addition, within a month, the cabinet is expected to submit proposals for expanding the republic's independent economic activity on the international scene. The proposals will deal with such questions as the distribution of hard currency proceeds, setting quotas for

imports and exports, licensing, establishing a framework for attracting and utilizing foreign investment and creating the republic's own reserve stock of gold, diamonds and hard currency.

The cabinet and the Ministry of Communications have also been instructed to submit proposals which would enhance the republic's independence and regards information. This would include the establishment of an independent telephone and telex network, as well as a satellite communications system.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev: Supreme Soviet Should Be Dissolved

LD2608231391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [A. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan; identified by caption] I simply believe that the Supreme Soviet, as well as the CPSU Central Committee, should be dissolved. It showed its inability to guard the law. They were proud that they concocted many laws, but a Supreme Soviet that cannot defend the main law—the USSR Constitution—is worth very little.

President Urges Agreement on Existing Borders

LD2708214591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The sensational statement by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], that there may be territorial arguments between the RSFSR and the republics that secede from the Union provoked immediate, turbulent reaction.

Despite the fact that Yeltsin's statement says Russia may raise the territorial issue only if any adjacent state wishes to secede from the USSR, Kyrgyz President Akayev was patently alarmed today when he told journalists that it will be necessary to sign an agreement on the inviolability of existing borders to ensure civic peace.

Resolutions, Charges, Dismissals Following Coup

OW2308195991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Bishkek saw a rally on the occasion of the coup failure Friday. The speakers, co-chairman of the democratic movement Kyrgyzstan Kazat Akmatov, republican Premier Naserdin Isanov and republican Vice-Premier Herman Kuznetsov, gave high grades to President Akayev's fortitude and courage during the coup.

A resolution was read out that demanded trials of the bureau of the Central Committee of Kyrgyzstan's Communist Party for sympathy with the coup, the nationalisation of party property, the formation of Kyrgyzstan's national guard, and the dismantling of the monuments of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky.

Kyrgyzstan's Procurator's Office brought criminal charges against the bureau members of the Central Committee of the Kyrgyz Communist Party led by First Secretary Dzhumgalbek Amanbayev.

President Akayev's decree dismissed First Deputy KGB Chairman in the republic Victor Zoboro and Deputy KGB Chairman Choro Murataliev for inaction during the coup. Earlier, [the] chairman of the republican KGB was dismissed.

A decree of Kyrgyzstan's president nationalized the buildings of the Communist Party Central Committee and the local Lenin Museum; the facilities will house centres of national culture and an Ethnic Friendship House. The Communist Party will be reimbursed for the loss of property.

The Communists of Kyrgyzstan's TV-and-Radio company held their last meeting on Friday. All the 54 Communists left the party.

Communists Demand Resignation of Party Leaders

LD2308122491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 23 Aug 91

[Text] A group of Communists from the leading bodies of the Kyrgyz Communist Party have demanded the resignation of the top leadership of the republic's Communist Party. Today they made an announcement in which they demanded that a plenum of the party's Central Committee be convened immediately, and that a principled appraisal of the actions of bureau members during the critical period for the country be made.

Tajikistan

Presidium Deems Party Activity 'Impermissible'

LD2708162391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Tajik Supreme Soviet Presidium declared impermissible the activity of any political parties and political movements in the parliament apparat. This was reported from the republic.

President Urges Compatriots To Observe Laws

LD2708180291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 27 Aug (TASS)—Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov called on his compatriots in the

country's new political situation to show restraint and a high level of awareness and to observe strictly the laws of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, which are based on the republic's state sovereignty. He said this in his appeal to the people of Tajikistan, published by the republic's papers today.

"We remain consistent supporters of establishing a civic society based on democracy and freedom. We are in favor of cooperation and the consolidation of all sociopolitical forces in the interest of the people," stresses the appeal.

The Tajik president placed special stress on the importance of the very rapid implementation of documents adopted recently at a meeting between the leaders of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In his opinion, the accords which have been (?formulated) are one of the factors in stabilizing the country's political and economic life. The appeal again confirms Tajikistan's readiness to enter an equal union of sovereign states, but without any diktat from anyone whatsoever.

The Tajik leader called on the population to refrain from persecuting people for their political allegiances. "Now is not the time to divide society and its interests on political, religious, regional, and other grounds," stressed Kakhar Makhkamov in conclusion. "It is a question of preserving the statehood of the Tajik people, its historical place in world civilization and in the movement toward new heights of human progress."

President Appoints Presidential Council Members

LD2708084691 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Uzbek 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Decree of the President of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) on Additions to the Composition of the Presidential Council of the Tajik SSR]

[Text] In line with Article 121 of the Constitution, the basic law of the Tajik SSR, I decree:

To appoint as members of the Presidential Council of the Tajik SSR: Comrade (Anatoliy Niktrivich Murtavitskiy), first deputy head of the forces of the Red Banner Central Asian border district, Tajik KGB official, and head of the operational group; and Comrade (Anatoliy Alekseyevich Stoikin), chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Tajik SSR.

Leaders' Reaction to Coup Attempt Viewed

PM2708151691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 2

[U. Babakhanov report under the "Political Chronicle" rubric: "Dushanbe: On the Peak of Mount 'Communism'"]

[Text] On the first day of the coup an extraordinary session of the Tajik Democratic Party Board set up a committee to defend the USSR Constitution and adopted a letter to the president of the republic urging him to condemn the actions of the self-styled committee.

But the republic newspapers duly printed the coupists' resolutions, while coming out on 23 August with the touchingly enthusiastic headlines: "Perestroyka and Democracy Have Triumphed!"

The advisers of President Makhkamov, who kept him from making rash statements, were more cautious and circumspect. The Tajik leader kept silent for almost three days until finally the apparatus brought forth the "Address to the People of Tajikistan."

However, far from everyone kept silent. Many acted. A number of Tajik Communist Party rayon committees rushed to assemble party and economic aktivs, at which they welcomed the coup. The chairman of the republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting promptly took down the portrait of Gorbachev hanging in his reception room (although admittedly he did not manage to restore it to its place on time).

Finally, I would be insincere if I said that the attempt to remove Gorbachev produced an outburst of indignation among the ordinary people of the republic. That did not happen. Some simply noticed nothing, others frankly rejoiced: At last there will be order! For your information: On returning from Moscow the other day, Makhkamov stated that he does not intend to leave the post of first secretary of the Central Committee? [question mark as published]

Uzbekistan

Central Committee To Consider Break With CPSU

LD2808041991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] A proposal of the republican party organization to make a complete break with the CPSU Central Committee, ceasing to be a member of all the structures of the Union CP [Communist Party], and the recalling of representives of Uzbekistan from central electoral and party bodies will be discussed in Tashkent today. A united plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the republic's CP is to take place there.

Birlik: Leadership Independence Move 'Populist'

PM2708140091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 2

[A. Mursaliyev report under the "Political Chronicle" rubric: "Tashkent: Dictatorship, but Our Own!"]

[Text] On Sunday, 25 August, Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov passed a Decree on the Departyization of the Local KGB and MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry], Their Transfer to the Jurisdiction of the Republic, and the Direct Subordination of USSR MVD Internal

Troops on Its Territory to the Republic. I. Karimov also instructed the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium to prepare proposals on ensuring Uzbekistan's full independence and to submit them to an extraordinary session of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

But just one week ago the feelings in the upper echelons of republic power were diametrically opposed to this. As early as the second day of the putsch a "Republic Commission To Coordinate the Work of the Organs of Executive Power and Administration," headed by Vice President Sh. Mirsaidov, was set up in Uzbekistan on the basis of G. Yanayev's statement. On 20 August leaders of the opposition people's movement "Birlik," which had issued a statement condemning the putsch on the evening of 19 August, were detained. Independent journalist Anvar Usmanov was also arrested and is still in custody. After being fined 1,000 rubles each, the members of the opposition were released. The wording of the ruling of Tashkent's Kuybyshevskiy Rayon People's Court is curious... "for breach of USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency Resolution No. 1 on the State of Emergency, and being in the Writers' Union building concerning the establishment of a state of emergency in Leningrad and Moscow in breach of the procedure laid down for assemblies. At the same time it was a question of the illegality of the actions and measures taken."

So, in the opinion of "Birlik" leader Abdurakhmid Pulatov, "the Uzbekistan leadership, which not only fully supported the putschists but had also started to carry out their instructions, is making various populist decisions in a bid to avoid accountability now and is trying to preserve the totalitarian regime in this individual republic under the screen of slogans about independence."